MEMOIRS
OF A
CAVALIER:
OR A
Military Journal
OF
The *WARS* in GERMANY,
AND
The *WARS* in ENGLAND;
From the Year 1632, to the Year 1648.

Written Threescore Years ago by an *English* Gentleman, who served first in the Army of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the glorious King of *Sweden*, till his Death; and after that, in the Royal Army of King *Charles* the First, from the Beginning of the Rebellion, to the End of that War.

LONDON:
Printed for *A. Bell* at the *Cross Keys* in *Cornhill*, *J. Osborn* at the *Oxford Arms* in *Lombard-Street*, *W. Taylor* at the *Ship and Swan*, and *T. Warner* at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-Noster-Row*.

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THE PREFACE.

AS an Evidence that 'tis very probable theſe Memorials were written many Years ago, the Perſons now concerned in the Publication, aſſure the Reader, that they have had them in their Poſſeſſion finiſhed, as they now appear, above twenty Years: That they were ſo long ago found by great Accident, among other valuable Papers in the Cloſet of an eminent publick Miniſter, of no leſs Figure than one of King William's Secretaries of State.

As it is not proper to trace them any farther, ſo neither is there any need to trace them at all, to give Reputation to the Story related, ſeeing the Actions here mentioned have a ſufficient Sanction from all the Hiſtories of the Times to which they relate, with this Addition, that the admirable Manner of relating them, and the wonderful Variety of Incidents, with which they are beautified in the Courſe of a private Gentleman's Story, add ſuch Delight in the reading, and give ſuch a Luſtre, as well to the Accounts themſelves, as to the Perſon who

was the Actor; and no Story, we believe, extant in the World, ever came abroad with such Advantages.

It must naturally give some Concern in the reading, that the Name of a Person of so much Gallantry and Honour, and so many Ways valuable to the World, should be lost to the Readers: We assure them no small Labour has been thrown away upon the Enquiry, and all we have been able to arrive to of Discovery in this Affair is, that a Memorandum *was found with this Manuscript, in these Words, but not signed by any Name, only the two Letters of a Name, which gives us no Light into the Matter, which Memoir was as follows.*

Memorandum,

I found this Manuscript among my Father's Writings, and I understand that he got them as Plunder, at, or after, the Fight at *Worcester*, where he served as Major of ——'s Regiment of Horse on the Side of the Parliament.

I. K.

As this has been of no Use but to terminate the Enquiry after the Person; so, however, it seems most naturally to give an Authority to the Original of the Work, (viz.) *that it was born of a Soldier, and indeed it is thro' every Part, related with so Soldierly a Stile, and in the very Language of the Field, that it seems impossible any Thing, but the very Person who was present in every Action here related, could be the Relator of them.*

The Accounts of Battles, the Sieges, and the several Actions of which this Work is so full, are all recorded in the Histories of those Times; such as the great Battle of Leipsick, *the Sacking of* Magdeburgh, *the Siege of* Nurembergh, *the passing the River* Leck *in* Bavaria; *such also as the Battles of* Keynton, *or* Edge-Hill; *the*

the Battles of Newberry, Marſton-Moor, and Naſeby, and the like: They are all, we ſay, recorded in other Hiſtories, and written by thoſe who lived in thoſe Times, and perhaps had good Authority for what they wrote. But do thoſe Relations give any of the beautiful Ideas of things formed in this Account? Have they one half of the Circumſtances and Incidents of the Actions themſelves, that this Man's Eyes were Witneſs to, and which his Memory has thus preſerved? He that has read the beſt Accounts of thoſe Battles, will be ſurprized to ſee the Particulars of the Story ſo preſerved, ſo nicely, and ſo agreeably deſcrib'd; and will confeſs what we alledge, that the Story is inimitably told; and even the great Actions of the glorious King GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, receive a Luſtre from this Man's Relations, which the World was never made ſenſible of before, and which the preſent Age has much wanted of late, in Order to give their Affections a Turn in Favour of his late glorious Succeſſor.

In the Story of our own Country's unnatural Wars, he carries on the ſame Spirit. How effectually does he record the Virtues and glorious Actions of King Charles the First, at the ſame Time that he frequently enters upon the Miſtakes of his Majeſty's Conduct, and of his Friends, which gave his Enemies all thoſe fatal Advantages againſt him, which ended in the Overthrow of his Armies, the Loſs of his Crown and Life, and the Ruin of the Conſtitution?

In all his Account he does Juſtice to his Enemies, and honours the Merit of thoſe whoſe Cauſe he fought againſt; and many Accounts recorded in his Story, are not to be found even in the beſt Hiſtories of thoſe Times.

What Applauſe does he give to the Gallantry of Sir Thomas Fairfax, to his Modeſty, to his Conduct, under which

which he himself was subdued, and to the Justice he did the King's Troops when they laid down their Arms?

His Description of the Scots *Troops in the beginning of the War, and the Behaviour of the Party under the Earl of* Holland, *who went over against them, are admirable; and his Censure of their Conduct, who push'd the King upon the Quarrel, and then would not let him fight, is no more than what many of the King's Friends, tho' less knowing* [*as Soldiers, have often complained of.*]

In a Word, this Work is a Confutation of many Errors in all the Writers upon the Subject of our Wars in England, *and even in that extraordinary History written by the Earl of* Clarendon; *but the Editors were so just, that when near twenty Years ago, a Person who had written a whole Volume in Folio, by Way of Answer to, and Confutation of* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion, would have borrowed the Clauses in this Account, which clash with that History, and confront it: We say the Editors were so just as to refuse them.*

There can be nothing objected against the general Credit of this Work, seeing its Truth is established upon universal History; and almost all the Facts, especially those of Moment, are confirmed for their general Part by all the Writers of those Times, if they are here embellished with Particulars, which are no where else to be found, that is the Beauty we boast of; and that it is that must recommend this Work to all the Men of Sense and Judgment that read it.

The only Objection we find possible to make against this Work is, that it is not carried on farther; or, as we may say finished, with the finishing the War of the Time; and this we complain of also: But then we complain as a Misfortune to the World, not as a Fault in the Author; for how do we know but that this Author might carry it on, and have another Part finished which might not fall into the same Hands, or may still remain with

some

ſome of his Family, and which they cannot indeed publiſh, to make it ſeem any Thing perfect, for want of the other Part which we have, and which we have now made publick? Nor is it very improbable, but that if any ſuch farther Part is in Being, the publiſhing theſe Two Parts may occaſion the Proprietors of the Third to let the World ſee it; and that by ſuch a Diſcovery, the Name of the Perſon may alſo come to be known, which would, no doubt, be a great Satisfaction to the Reader, as well as us.

This, however, muſt be ſaid, that if the ſame Author ſhould have written another Part of this Work, and carried it on to the End of thoſe Times; yet as the Reſidue of thoſe melancholly Days, to the Reſtoration, were filled with the Intrigues of Government, the Political Management of illegal Power, and the Diſſentions and Factions of a People, who were then even in themſelves but a FACTION, *and that there was very little Action in the Field; it is more than probable that our Author, who was a Man of Arms, had little Share in thoſe Things, and might not care to trouble himſelf with looking at them.*

But beſides all this, it might happen that he might go abroad again, at that Time, as moſt of the Gentlemen of Quality, and who had an Abhorrence for the Power that then govern'd, here did. Nor are we certain that he might live to the End of that Time, ſo we can give no Account whether he had any Poſt in the ſubſequent Actions of that Time. See p. 334.

'Tis enough that we have the Authorities above to recommend this Part to us that is now publiſhed; the Relation, we are perſwaded, will recommend it ſelf, and nothing more can be needful, becauſe nothing more can invite than the Story it ſelf, which when the Reader enters into, he will find it very hard to get out of, 'till he has gone thro' it.

MEMOIRS

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CAVALIER.

PART I.

IT may ſuffice the Reader, without being very inquiſitive after my Name, that I was born in the County of *SALOP*, in the Year 1608; under the Government of what Star I was never Aſtrologer enough to examine; but the Conſequences of my Life may allow me to ſuppoſe ſome extraordinary Influence affected my Birth. If there be any thing in Dreams alſo, my Mother, who was mighty obſervant that Way, took Minutes, which I have ſince ſeen in the firſt Leaf of her Prayer Book, of ſeveral ſtrange Dreams ſhe had while ſhe was with Child of her ſecond Son, which was my

ſelf. Once ſhe noted that ſhe dreamed ſhe was carried away by a Regiment of Horſe, and delivered in the Fields of a Son, that as ſoon as it was born had two Wings came out of its Back, and in half an Hour's Time flew away from her: And the very Evening before I was born, ſhe dreamed ſhe was brought to Bed of a Son, and that all the while ſhe was in Labour a Man ſtood under her Window beating on a Kettle-Drum, which very much diſcompoſed her.

My Father was a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune, having an Eſtate of above 5000 Pounds *per Annum*, of a Family nearly allied to ſeveral of the principal Nobility, and lived about ſix Miles from the Town: And my Mother being at-----on ſome particular Occaſion, was ſurprized there at a Friend's Houſe, and brought me very ſafe into the World.

I was my Father's ſecond Son, and therefore was not altogether ſo much ſlighted as younger Sons of good Families generally are. But my Father ſaw ſomething in my Genius alſo which particularly pleaſed him, and ſo made him take extraordinary Care of my Education.

I was taught therefore, by the beſt Maſters that could be had, every Thing that was needful to accompliſh a young Gentleman for the World; and at ſeventeen Years old my Tutor told my Father an Academick Education was very proper for a Perſon of Quality, and he thought me very fit for it: So my Father entered me of-----College in *Oxford*, where I continued three Years.

A Collegiate Life did not ſuit me at all, though I loved Books well enough. It was never deſigned that I ſhould be either a Lawyer, Phyſician or Divine; and I wrote to my Father, that I thought I had ſtaid there long enough

for

for a Gentleman, and with his Leave I desired to give him a Visit.

During my Stay at *Oxford*, though I passed through the proper Exercises of the House, yet my chief reading was upon History and Geography, as that which pleased my Mind best, and supplied me with Ideas most suitable to my Genius: By one I understood what great Actions had been done in the World; and by the other I understood where they had been done.

My Father readily complied with my Desire of coming home; for besides that he thought, as I did, that three Years time at the University was enough, he also most passionately loved me, and began to think of my settling near him.

At my Arrival I found my self extraordinarily caressed by my Father, and he seemed to take a particular Delight in my Conversation. My Mother, who lived in a perfect Union with him, both in Desires and Affection, received me very passionately: Apartments were provided for me by my self, and Horses and Servants allowed me in particular.

My Father never went a Hunting, an Exercise he was exceeding fond of, but he would have me with him; and it pleased him when he found me like the Sport. I lived thus, in all the Pleasures 'twas possible for me to enjoy, for about a Year more; when going out one Morning with my Father to hunt a Stag, and having had a very hard Chase, and gotten a great Way off from home, we had Leisure enough to ride gently back: And as we returned, my Father took Occasion to enter into a serious Discourse with me concerning the Manner of my settling in the World.

He told me, with a great deal of Paſſion, that he loved me above all the reſt of his Children, and that therefore he intended to do very well for me; that my eldeſt Brother being already married and ſettled, he had deſigned the ſame for me, and propoſed a very advantageous Match for me with a young Lady of very extraordinary Fortune and Merit, and offered to make a Settlement of 2000 *l. per Annum* on me, which he ſaid he would purchaſe for me without diminiſhing his paternal Eſtate.

There was too much Tenderneſs in this Diſcourſe not to affect me exceedingly. I told him, I would perfectly reſign my ſelf unto his Diſpoſal. But, as my Father had, together with his Love for me, a very nice Judgment in his Diſcourſe, he fixed his Eyes very attentively on me; and though my Anſwer was without the leaſt Reſerve, yet he thought he ſaw ſome Uneaſineſs in me at the Propoſal, and from thence concluded that my Compliance was rather an Act of Diſcretion than Inclination; and, that however I ſeemed ſo abſolutely given up to what he had propoſed, yet my Anſwer was really an Effect of my Obedience rather than my Choice: So he returned very quick upon me, *Look you, Son, though I give you my own Thoughts in the Matter, yet I would have you be very plain with me; for if your own Choice does not agree with mine, I will be your Adviſer, but will never impoſe upon you; and therefore let me know your Mind freely. I don't reckon my ſelf capable, Sir,* ſaid I, with a great deal of reſpect, *to make ſo good a Choice for my ſelf as you can for me; and though my Opinion differed from yours, its being your Opinion would reform mine, and my Judgment would as readily comply as my Duty. I gather at leaſt from thence,* ſaid my Father, *that your Deſigns lay*

another

another Way before, however they may comply with mine: And therefore I would know what it was you would have asked of me if I had not offered this to you; and you muſt not deny me your Obedience in this, if you expect I ſhould believe your Readineſs in the other.

Sir, ſaid I, *'twas impoſſible I ſhould lay out for my ſelf juſt what you have propoſed; but if my Inclinations were never ſo contrary, though at your Command you ſhall know them, yet I declare them to be wholly ſubjected to your Order: I confeſs my Thoughts did not tend towards Marriage or a Settlement; for though I had no Reaſon to queſtion your Care of me, yet I thought a Gentleman ought always to ſee ſomething of the World before he confined himſelf to any part of it: And if I had been to ask your Conſent to any Thing, it ſhould have been to give me leave to Travel for a ſhort Time, in order qualifie my ſelf to appear at home like a Son to ſo good a Father.*

In what Capacity would you Travel, replied my Father? *You muſt go abroad either as a private Gentleman, as a Scholar, or as a Soldier. If it were in the latter Capacity, Sir,* ſaid I, returning pretty quick, *I hope I ſhould not misbehave my ſelf; but I am not ſo determined as not to be ruled by your Judgment. Truly,* replied my Father, *I ſee no War abroad at this Time worth while for a Man to appear in, whether we talk of the Cauſe or the Encouragement; and indeed, Son, I am afraid you need not go far for Adventures of that Nature, for Times ſeem to look as if this Part of* Europe *would find us Work enough. My Father ſpake then relating to the Quarrel likely to happen between the King of* England *and the* Spaniard, (*) *for I believe he had no Notions of a Civil War in his Head.*

(*) Upon the Breach of the Match between the King of *England* and the Infanta of *Spain*; and particularly upon the old Quarrel of the King of *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*.

In ſhort, my Father perceiving my Inclinations very forward to go abroad, gave me Leave to Travel, upon Condition I would promiſe to return in two Years at fartheſt, or ſooner, if he ſent for me.

While I was at *Oxford* I happened into the Society of a young Gentleman, of a good Family, but of a low Fortune, being a younger Brother, and who had indeed inſtilled into me the firſt Deſires of going abroad, and who I knew paſſionately longed to Travel, but had not ſufficient Allowance to defray his Expences as a Gentleman. We had contracted a very cloſe Friendſhip, and our Humours being very agreeable to one another, we daily enjoyed the Converſation of Letters. He was of a generous free Temper, without the leaſt Affectation or Deceit, a handſome proper Perſon, a ſtrong Body, very good Mien, and brave to the laſt Degree: His Name was *Fielding*, and we called him *Captain*, though it be a very unuſual Title in a College; but Fate had ſome Hand in the Title, for he had certainly the Lines of a Soldier drawn in his Countenance. I imparted to him the Reſolutions I had taken, and how I had my Father's Conſent to go abroad; and would know his Mind, whether he would go with me: He ſent me Word, he would go with all his Heart.

My Father, when he ſaw him, for I ſent for him immediately to come to me, mightily approved my Choice; ſo we got our Equipage ready, and came away for *London*.

'Twas on the 22d of *April* 1630, when we embarked at *Dover*, landed in a few Hours at *Calais*, and immediately took Poſt for *Paris*. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with a Journal of my Travels, nor with the Deſcription of Places; which every

every Geographer can do better than I; but theſe Memoirs being only a Relation of what happened either to our ſelves, or in our own Knowledge, I ſhall confine my ſelf to that Part of it.

We had indeed ſome diverting Paſſages in our Journey to *Paris*; as firſt, the Horſe my Comrade was upon fell ſo very lame with a Slip that he could not go, and hardly ſtand: And the Fellow that rid with us Expreſs, pretended to ride away to a Town five Miles off to get a freſh Horſe, and ſo left us on the Road with one Horſe between two of us: We followed as well as we could, but being Strangers, miſſed the Way, and wandered a great Way out of the Road. Whether the Man performed in reaſonable Time, or not, we could not be ſure; but if it had not been for an old Prieſt, we had never found him. We met this Man, by a very good Accident, near a little Village whereof he was Curate: We ſpoke *Latin* enough juſt to make him underſtand us, and he did not ſpeak it much better himſelf; but he carried us into the Village to his Houſe, gave us Wine and Bread, and entertained us with wonderful Courteſie: After this he ſent into the Village, hired a Peaſant, and a Horſe for my Captain, and ſent him to guide us into the Road. At parting he made a great many Compliments to us in *French*, which we could juſt underſtand; but the Sum was, to excuſe him for a Queſtion he had a mind to ask us. After leave to ask what he pleaſed, it was, if we wanted any Money for our Journey, and pulled out two Piſtoles, which he offered either to give or lend us.

I mention this exceeding Courteſie of the Curate, becauſe, though Civility is very much in Uſe in *France*, and eſpecially to Strangers, yet

'tis a very unuſual thing to have them part with their Money.

We let the Prieſt know, firſt, that we did not want Money, and next that we were very ſenſible of the Obligation he had put upon us; and I told him in particular, if I lived to ſee him again, I would acknowledge it.

This Accident of our Horſe, was, as we afterwards found, of ſome uſe to us: We had left our two Servants behind us at *Calais* to bring our Baggage after us, by reaſon of ſome Diſpute between the Captain of the Pacquet and the Cuſtom-Houſe Officer which could not be adjuſted; and we were willing to be at *Paris*: The Fellows followed as faſt as they could, and as near as we could learn, in the Time we loſt our Way were robbed, and our Portmanteaus opened. They took what they pleaſed; but as there was no Money there, but Linen and Neceſſaries, the Loſs was not great.

Our Guide carried us to *Amiens*, where we found the Expreſs and our two Servants, who the Expreſs meeting on the Road with a ſpare Horſe, had brought back with him thither.

We took this for a good Omen of our ſucceſsful Journey, having eſcaped a Danger which might have been greater to us than it was to our Servants; for the Highway-Men in *France* do not always give a Traveller the Civility of bidding him Stand and Deliver his Money, but frequently Fire upon him firſt, and then take his Money.

We ſtaid one Day at *Amiens*, to adjuſt this little Diſorder, and walked about the Town, and into the great Church, but ſaw nothing very remarkable there; but going croſs a broad Street near the great Church, we ſaw a Crowd of

People

People gazing at a Mountebank Doctor who made a long Harangue to them with a thouſand antick Poſtures, and gave out Bills this Way, and Boxes of Phyſick that Way, and had a great Trade, when on a ſudden the People raiſed a Cry, * *Larron, Larron*, on the other ſide the Street, and all the Auditors ran away from Mr. Doctor, to ſee what the matter was---- Among the reſt, we went to ſee; and the caſe was plain and ſhort enough. Two *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and a *Scotch-Man*, Travellers as we were, were ſtanding gazing at this prating Doctor, and one of them catched a Fellow picking his Pocket: The Fellow had got ſome of his Money, for he dropt two or three Pieces juſt by him, and had got hold of his Watch; but being ſurprized, let it ſlip again: but the Reaſon of telling this Story, is for the Management of it. This Thief had his Seconds ſo ready, that as ſoon as the *Engliſh-Man* had ſeized him, they fell in, pretended to be mighty zealous for the Stranger, takes the Fellow by the Throat, and makes a great Buſtle; the Gentleman not doubting but the Man was ſecured, let go his own Hold of him, and left him to them: The Hubbub was great, and 'twas theſe Fellows cried *Larron, Larron*; but with a Dexterity peculiar to themſelves, had let the right Fellow go, and pretended to be all upon one of their own Gang. At laſt they bring the Man to the Gentleman, to ask him what the Fellow had done? who, when he ſaw the Perſon they ſeized on, preſently told them that was not the Man: Then they ſeemed to be in more Conſternation than before, and ſpread themſelves all over the Street, crying

* In Engliſh, *Thief, Thief,*

Larron,

Larron, Larron, pretending to ſearch for the Fellow; and ſo one one Way, one another, they were all gone, the Noiſe went over, the Gentlemen ſtood looking one at another, and the bawling Doctor began to have the Crowd about him again.

This was the firſt *French* Trick I had the Opportunity of ſeeing; but I was told they have a great many more as dextrous as this.

We ſoon got Acquaintance with theſe Gentlemen, who were going to *Paris* as well as we; ſo the next Day we made up our Company with them, and were a pretty Troop of five Gentlemen and four Servants.

As we had really no Deſign to ſtay long at *Paris*, ſo indeed, excepting the City it ſelf, there was not much to be ſeen there. Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was not only a ſupreme Miniſter in the Church, but prime Miniſter in the State, was now made alſo General of the King's Forces, with a Title never known in *France* before nor ſince, *viz.* Lieutenant-General *au Place du Roy*, in the King's ſtead, or as ſome have ſince tranſlated it, repreſenting the Perſon of the King.

Under this Character he pretended to execute all the Royal Powers in the Army without Appeal to the King, or without waiting for Orders: and having parted from *Paris* the Winter before, had now actually begun the War againſt the Duke of *Savoy*; in the proceſs of which, he reſtored the Duke of *Mantua*, and having taken *Pignerol* from the Duke, put it into ſuch a ſtate of Defence, as the Duke could never force it out of his hands, and reduced the Duke, rather by Manage and Conduct than by Force, to make Peace without it; ſo as annexing it to the Crown of *France*, it has ever ſince been a Thorn in his Foot, that has always made the

Peace

Peace of *Savoy* lame and precarious: and *France* has ſince made *Pignerol* one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the World.

As the Cardinal, with all the Military part of the Court, was in the Field; ſo the King, to be near him, was gone with the Queen and all the Court, juſt before I reached *Paris*, to reſide at *Lyons*. All theſe conſidered, there was nothing to do at *Paris*: the Court looked like a Citizen's Houſe when the Family was all gone into the Country: and I thought the whole City looked very melancholy, compared to all the fine things I had heard of it.

The Queen Mother and her Party were chagrin at the Cardinal, who, tho' he owed his Grandeur to her immediate Favour, was now grown too great any longer to be at the Command of Her Majeſty, or indeed in her Intereſt; and therefore the Queen was under Diſſatisfaction, and Her Party looked very much down.

The Proteſtants were every where diſconſolate; for the Loſſes they had received at *Rochel*, *Niſmes*, and *Montpelier*, had reduced them to an abſolute Dependence on the King's Will, without all poſſible hopes of ever recovering themſelves, or being ſo much as in a Condition to take Arms for their Religion; and therefore the wiſeſt of them plainly foreſaw their own entire Reduction, as it ſince came to paſs: and I remember vere well, that a Proteſtant Gentleman told me once, as we were paſſing from *Orleans* to *Lyons*, That the *Engliſh* had ruined them; and therefore, ſays he, I think the next Occaſion the King takes to uſe us ill, as I know 'twill not be long, before he does, we muſt all fly over to *England*, where you are bound to maintain us for having helped to turn us out

of

of our own Country. I asked him what he meant by ſaying the *Engliſh* had done it? He returned ſhort upon me; I do not mean, ſays he, by not relieving *Rochel*, but by helping to ruin *Rochel*, when you and the *Dutch* lent Ships to beat our Fleet, which all the Ships in *France* could not have done without you.

I was too young in the World to be very ſenſible of this before, and therefore was ſomething ſtartled at the Charge; but when I came to diſcourſe with this Gentleman, I ſoon ſaw, the Truth of what he ſaid was undeniable, and have ſince reflected on it with regret, that the Naval Power of the Proteſtants, which was then ſuperior to the Royal, would certainly have been the Recovery of all their Fortunes, had it not been unhappily broke by their Brethren of *England* and *Holland*, the former lending ſeven Men of War, and the latter twenty, for the Deſtruction of the *Rocheller*'s Fleet; and by thoſe very Ships the *Rocheller*'s Fleet were actually beaten and deſtroyed, and they never afterward recovered their Force at Sea, and by conſequence ſunk under the Siege, which the *Engliſh* afterwards in vain attempted to prevent.

Theſe things made the Proteſtants look very dull, and expected the Ruin of all their Party; which had certainly happened had the Cardinal lived a few Years longer.

We ſtayed in *Paris* about three Weeks, as well to ſee the Court, and what Rarities the Place afforded, as by an Occaſion which had like to have put a ſhort Period to our Ramble.

Walking one Morning before the Gate of the *Louvre*, with a Deſign to ſee the *Swiſs* Drawn up, which they always did, and Exerciſed juſt before they Relieved the Guards; a Page came up

to

to me, and ſpeaking *Engliſh* to me, Sir, ſays he the Captain muſt needs have your immediate Aſſiſtance. I that had not the knowledge of any Perſon in *Paris* but my own Companion, whom I called Captain, had no room to queſtion, but it was he that ſent for me; and crying out haſtily to him, Where, followed the Fellow as faſt as 'twas poſſible: he led me thro' ſeveral Paſſages which I knew not, and at laſt thro' a Tennis-Court, and into a large Room where three Men, like Gentlemen, were Engaged very briskly, two againſt one: the Room was very dark, ſo that I could not eaſily know them aſunder; but being fully poſſeſſed with an Opinion before of my Captain's Danger, I ran into the Room with my Sword in my Hand: I had not particularly Engaged any of them, nor ſo much as made a Paſs at any, when I received a very dangerous Thruſt in my Thigh, rather occaſioned by my haſty running in, than a real Deſign of the Perſon; but enraged at the Hurt, without examining who it was hurt me, I threw my ſelf upon him, and run my Sword quite thro' his Body.

The Novelty of the Adventure, and the unexpected Fall of the Man by a Stranger come in no Body knew how, had becalmed the other two, that they really ſtood gazing at me. By this Time I had diſcovered that my Captain was not there, and that 'twas ſome ſtrange Accident brought me thither. I could ſpeak but little *French*, and ſuppoſed they could ſpeak no *Engliſh*; ſo I ſtepped to the Door to ſee for the Page that brought me thither: but ſeeing no body there, and the Paſſage clear, I made off as faſt as I could, without ſpeaking a Word; nor did the other two Gentlemen offer to ſtop me.

But

But I was in a ſtrange Confuſion when coming into thoſe Entries and Paſſages which the Page led me thro', I could by no means find my way out; at laſt ſeeing a Door open that looked through a Houſe into the Street, I went in, and out at the other Door; but then I was at as great a Loſs to know where I was, and which was the way to my Lodging. The Wound in my Thigh bled apace, and I could feel the Blood in my Breeches. In this Interval came by a Chair, I called, and went into it, and bid them, as well as I could, go to the *Louvre*; for tho' I knew not the Name of the Street were I lodged, I knew I could find the way to it when I was at the *Baſtile*. The Chair-Men went on their own Way, and being ſtopp'd by a Company of the Guards as they went, ſet me down till the Souldiers were marched by; when looking out I found I was juſt at my own Lodging, and the Captain was ſtanding at the Door looking for me; I beckoned him to me, and whiſpering told him I was very much hurt, but bid him pay the Chair-men, and ask no Queſtions but come to me.

I made the beſt of my Way up Stairs, but had loſt ſo much Blood that I had hardly Spirits enough to keep me from ſwooning till he came in: He was equally concerned with me to ſee me in ſuch a bloody Condition, and preſently called up our Landlord, and he as quickly called in his Neighbours, that I had a Room full of People about me in a quarter of an Hour. But this had like to have been of worſe Conſequence to me than the other; for by this Time there was great enquiring after the Perſon who killed a Man at the Tennis-Court. My Landlord was then ſenſible of his Miſtake, and came to me, and told me the Danger I was in, and very honeſtly

ly offered to convey me to a Friend's of his, where I ſhould be very ſecure; I thanked him, and ſuffered my ſelf to be carried at Midnight whether he pleaſed; he viſited me very often till I was well enough to walk about, which was not in leſs than ten Days, and then we thought fit to be gone, ſo we took Poſt for *Orleans*; but when I came upon the Road I found my ſelf in a new Error, for my Wound opened again with riding, and I was in a worſe Condition than before, being forced to take up at a little Village on the Road, called about Miles from *Orleans*, where there was no Surgeon to be had, but a ſorry Country Barber, who nevertheleſs dreſſed me as well as he could, and in about a Week more I was able to walk to *Orleans* at three times.

Here I ſtaid till I was quite well, and then took Coach for *Lyons*, and ſo through *Savoy* into *Italy*.

I ſpent near two Years Time after this bad beginning in travelling through *Italy*, and to the ſeveral Courts of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice* and *Vienna*.

When I came to *Lyons* the King was gone from thence to *Grenoble* to meet the Cardinal, but the Queens were both at *Lyons*.

The *French* Affairs ſeemed at this Time to have but an indifferent Aſpect; there was no Life in any Thing but where the Cardinal was, he puſhed on every Thing with extraordinary Conduct, and generally with Succeſs; he had taken *Suza* and *Pignerol* from the Duke of *Savoy*, and was preparing to puſh the Duke even out of all his Dominions.

But in the mean Time every where elſe Things looked ill; the Troops were ill paid, the Magazines empty, the People mutinous, and a ge-

a general Diſorder ſeized the Minds of the Court; and the Cardinal, who was the Soul of every Thing, deſired this Interview at *Grenoble*, in order to put Things into ſome better Method.

This politick Miniſter always ordered Matters ſo, that if there was Succeſs in any Thing the Glory was his; but if Things miſcarried it was all laid upon the King. This Conduct was ſo much the more Nice, as it is the direct contrary to the Cuſtom in like Caſes, where Kings aſſume the Glory of all the Succeſs in an Action; and when a Thing miſcarries make themſelves eaſie by ſacrificing their Miniſters and Favourites to the Complaints and Reſentments of the People; but this accurate refined Stateſman got over this Point.

While we were at *Lyons*, and as I remember, the third Day after our coming thither, we had like to have been involved in a State Broil, without knowing where we were; it was of a *Sunday* in the Evening, the People of *Lyons*, who had been ſorely oppreſſed in Taxes, and the War in *Italy* pinching their Trade, began to be very tumultuous; we found the Day before the Mob got together in great Crouds, and talked oddly; the King was every where reviled, and ſpoken diſreſpectfully of, and the Magiſtrates of the City either winked at, or durſt not attempt to meddle, leſt they ſhould provoke the People.

But on *Sunday* Night, about Midnight, we was waked by a prodigious Noiſe in the Street; I jumpt out of Bed, and running to the Window, I ſaw the Street as full of Mob as it could hold, ſome armed with Muſquets and Halbards, marched in very good Order; others in diſorderly Crouds, all ſhouting and crying out *du Paix le Roy*, and the like: One that led a great Party

of

of this Rabble carried a Loaf of Bread upon the Top of a Pike, and other leſſer Loaves, ſignifying the Smallneſs of their Bread, occaſioned by Dearneſs.

By Morning this Croud was gathered to a great Heighth, they run roving over the whole City, ſhut up all the Shops, and forced all the People to join with them from thence; they went up to the Caſtle, and renewing the Clamour, a ſtrange Conſternation ſeized all the Princes.

They broke open the Doors of the Officers, Collectors of the new Taxes, and plundered their Houſes, and had not the Perſons themſelves fled in time they had been very ill treated.

The Queen Mother, as ſhe was very much diſpleaſed to ſee ſuch Conſequences of the Government, in whoſe Management ſhe had no Share, ſo I ſuppoſe ſhe had the leſs Concern upon her. However, ſhe came into the Court of the Caſtle and ſhewed her ſelf to the People, gave Money amongſt them, and ſpoke gently to them; and by a Way peculiar to her ſelf, and which obliged all ſhe talked with, ſhe pacified the Mob gradually, ſent them home with Promiſes of Redreſs and the like; and ſo appeaſed this Tumult in two Days, by her Prudence, which the Guards in the Caſtle had ſmall Mind to meddle with, and if they had, would, in all Probability, have made the better Side the worſe.

There had been ſeveral Seditions of the like Nature in ſundry other Parts of *France*, and the very Army began to murmur, though not to mutiny, for want of Proviſions.

This Sedition at *Lyons* was not quite over when we left the Place, for, finding the City all in a Broil, we conſidered we had no Buſineſs there, and

what the Conſequence of a popular Tumult might be, we did not ſee, ſo we prepared to be gone. We had not rid above three Miles out of the City but we were brought as Priſoners of War, by a Party of Mutineers, who had been abroad upon the Scout, and were charged with being Meſſengers ſent to the Cardinal for Forces to reduce the Citizens: With theſe Pretences they brought us back in Triumph, and the Queen Mother being by this Time grown ſomething familiar to them, they carried us before her.

When they enquired of us who we were, we called our ſelves *Scots*; for as the *Engliſh* were very much out of Favour in *France* at this Time, the Peace having been made not many Months, and not ſuppoſed to be very durable, becauſe particularly diſpleaſing to the People of *England*; ſo the *Scots* were on the other Extreme with the *French*. Nothing was ſo much careſſed as the *Scots*, and a Man had no more to do in *France*, if he would be well received there, than to ſay he was a *Scotchman*.

When we came before the Queen Mother ſhe ſeemed to receive us with ſome Stiffneſs at firſt, and cauſed her Guards to take us into Cuſtody; but as ſhe was a Lady of moſt exquiſite Politicks, ſhe did this to amuſe the Mob, and we were immediately after diſmiſſed; and the Queen her ſelf made a handſome Excuſe to us for the Rudeneſs we had ſuffered, alledging the Troubles of the Times; and the next Morning we had three Dragoons of the Guards to convoy us out of the Juriſdiction of *Lyons*.

I confeſs this little Adventure gave me an Averſion to popular Tumults all my Life after, and if nothing elſe had been in the Cauſe, would have byaſſed me to eſpouſe the King's Party in *England*,

England, when our popular Heats carried all before it at home.

But I muſt ſay, that when I called to mind ſince the Addreſs, the Management, the Compliance in ſhew, and in general the whole Conduct of the Queen Mother with the mutinous People of *Lyons*, and compared it with the Conduct of my unhappy Maſter the King of *England*, I could not but ſee that the Queen underſtood much better than King *Charles*, the Management of Politicks, and the Clamours of the People.

Had this Princeſs been at the Helm in *England*, ſhe would have prevented all the Calamities of the Civil War here, and yet not have parted with what that good Prince yielded in order to Peace neither; ſhe would have yielded gradually, and then gained upon them gradually; ſhe would have managed them to the Point ſhe had deſigned them, as ſhe did all Parties in *France*; and none could effectually ſubject her, but the very Man ſhe had raiſed to be her principal Support; I mean the Cardinal.

We went from hence to *Grenoble*, and arrived there the ſame Day that the King and the Cardinal, with the whole Court, went out to view a Body of 6000 *Swiſs* Foot, which the Cardinal had wheedled the Cantons to grant to the King, to help ruin their Neighbour the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Troops were exceeding fine, well accoutred, brave, clean-limbed, ſtout Fellows indeed. Here I ſaw the Cardinal; there was an Air of Church Gravity in his Habit, but all the Vigor of a General, and the Sprightlineſs of a vaſt Genius in his Face; he affected a little Stiffneſs in his Behaviour, but managed all his Affairs with ſuch Clearneſs, ſuch Steddineſs, and ſuch

Application, that it was no Wonder he had ſuch Succeſs in every Undertaking.

Here I ſaw the King, whoſe Figure was mean, his Countenance hollow, and always ſeemed dejected, and every Way diſcovering that Weakneſs in his Countenance that appeared in his Actions.

If he was ever ſprightly and vigorous it was when the Cardinal was with him; for he depended ſo much on every Thing he did, that he was at the utmoſt Dilemma when he was abſent, always timorous, jealous and irreſolute.

After the Review the Cardinal was abſent ſome Days, having been to wait on the Queen Mother at *Lyons*, where, as it was diſcourſed, they were at leaſt ſeemingly reconciled.

I obſerved while the Cardinal was gone there was no Court, the King was ſeldom to be ſeen, very ſmall Attendance given, and no Buſtle at the Caſtle; but as ſoon as the Cardinal returned the great Councils were aſſembled, the Coaches of the Ambaſſadors went every Day to the Caſtle, and a Face of Buſineſs appeared upon the whole Court.

Here the Meaſures of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Ruine were concerted, and in Order to it the King and the Cardinal put themſelves at the Head of the Army, with which they immediately reduced all *Savoy*, took *Chamberry* and the whole Dutchy except *Montmelian*.

The Army that did this was not above 22000 Men, including the *Swiſs*, and but indifferent Troops neither, eſpecally the *French* Foot, who compared to the Infantry I have ſince ſeen in the *German* and *Swediſh* Armies, were not fit to be called Soldiers. On the other hand, conſidering the *Savoyards* and *Italian* Troops, they were

were good Troops; but the Cardinal's Conduct made amends for all theſe Deficiencies.

From hence I went to *Pignerol*, which was then little more than a ſingle Fortification on the Hill near the Town called St. *Bride's*; but the Situation of that was very ſtrong: I mention this becauſe of the prodigious Works ſince added to it, by which it has ſince obtained the Name of the Right Hand of *France*; they had begun a New Line below the Hill, and ſome Works were marked out on the Side of the Town next the Fort; but the Cardinal afterwards drew the Plan of the Works with his own Hand, by which it was made one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in *Europe*.

While I was at *Pignerol* the Governor of *Milan* for the *Spaniards* came with an Army and ſat down before *Caſal*. The Grand Quarrel and for which the War in this Part of *Italy* was begun, was this; the *Spaniards* and *Germans* pretended to the Dutchy of *Mantua*; the Duke of *Nevers*, a French Man, had not only a Title to it, but had got Poſſeſſion of it, but being ill ſupported by the *French*, was beaten out by the *Imperialiſts*, and after a long Siege the *Germans* took *Mantua* it ſelf, and drove the poor Duke quite out of the Country.

The taking of *Mantua* elevated the Spirits of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Germans* and *Spaniards* being now at more Leiſure, with a compleat Army came to his Aſſiſtance, and formed the Siege of *Montferrat*.

For as the *Spaniards* puſhed the Duke of *Mantua*, ſo the *French* by Way of Diverſion lay hard upon the Duke of *Savoy*; they had ſeized *Montferrat*, and held it for the Duke of *Mantua*, and had a ſtrong *French* Garriſon under *Thoiras*, a brave and

experienced Commander; and thus Affairs ſtood when we came into the *French* Army.

I had no Buſineſs there, as a Soldier, but having paſſed as a *Scotch* Gentleman with the Mob at *Lyons*, and after with her Majeſty, the Queen Mother, when we obtained the Guard of her Dragoons; we had alſo her Majeſty's Paſs, with which we came and went where we pleaſed; and the Cardinal, who was then not on very good Terms with the Queen, but willing to keep ſmooth Water there, when two or three times our Paſſes came to be examined, ſhewed a more than ordinary Reſpect to us on that very account, our Paſſes being from the Queen.

Caſal being beſieged, as I have obſerved, began to be in Danger, for the Cardinal, who 'twas thought had formed a Deſign to ruin *Savoy*, was more intent upon that than upon the Succour of the Duke of *Mantua*; but Neceſſity calling upon him to deliver ſo great a Captain as *Thoiras*, and not to let ſuch a Place as *Caſal* fall into the Hands of the Enemy, the King, or Cardinal rather, order'd the Duke of *Momorency* and the Mareſchal D' *Effiat*, with 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, to march and joyn the Mareſchals *De la Force* and *Schomberg*, who lay already with an Army on the Frontiers of *Genoa*, but too weak to attempt the raiſing the Siege of *Caſal*.

As all Men thought there would be a Battle between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, I could not prevail with my ſelf to loſe the Opportunity, and therefore by the Help of the Paſſes abovementioned, I came to the *French* Army under the Duke of *Momorency*; we marched through the Enemy's Country with great Boldneſs and no ſmall Hazard, for the Duke of *Savoy* appeared frequently

quently with great Bodies of Horſe on the Rear of the Army, and frequently skirmiſhed with our Troops, in one of which I had the Folly, *I can call it no better, for I had no Buſineſs there*, to go out and ſee the Sport, as the *French* Gentlemen called it; I was but a raw Soldier, and did not like the Sport at all, for this Party was ſurrounded by the Duke of *Savoy*, and almoſt all killed, for as to Quarter, they neither asked nor gave; I run away very fairly one of the firſt, and my Companion with me, and by the Goodneſs of our Horſes got out of the Fray, and being not much known in the Army, we came into the Camp an hour or two after, as if we had been only riding abroad for the Air.

This little Rout made the General very cautious, for the *Savoyards* were ſtronger in Horſe by 3 or 4000, and the Army always marched in a Body, and kept their Parties in or very near Hand.

I 'ſcaped another Rub in this *French* Army about five Days after, which had liked to have made me pay dear for my Curioſity.

The Duke *de Momorency* and the Mareſchal *Schomberg* joined their Army above four or five Days after, and immediately, according to the Cardinal's Inſtructions, put themſelves on the March for the Relief of *Caſal*.

The Army had marched over a great Plain, with ſome marſhy Grounds on the Right, and the *Po* on the Left, and as the Country was ſo well diſcovered that 'twas thought impoſſible any Miſchief ſhould happen, the Generals obſerved the leſs Caution. At the End of this Plain was a long Wood, and a Lane or narrow Defile thro' the Middle of it.

Thro' this Paſs the Army was to march, and the Van began to file through it about four a Clock; by three Hours Time all the Army was got through, or into the Paſs, and the Artillery was juſt entred when the Duke of *Savoy*, with 4000 Horſe and 1500 Dragoons, with every Horſe-man a Foot-man behind him; whether he had ſwam the *Po*, or paſſed it above at a Bridge, and made a long March after, was not examined, but he came boldly up the Plain and charged our Rear with a great deal of Fury.

Our Artillery was in the Lane, and as it was impoſſible to turn them about, and make way for the Army, ſo the Rear was obliged to ſupport themſelves, and maintain the Fight for above an Hour and a half.

In this Time we loſt abundance of Men, and if it had not been for two Accidents all that Line had been cut off; one was, that the Wood was ſo near that thoſe Regiments which were diſordered preſently ſheltred themſelves in the Wood; the other was, that by this Time the Mareſchal *Schomberg*, with the Horſe of the Van, began to get back through the Lane, and to make good the Ground from whence the other had been beaten, till at laſt by this Means it came to almoſt a pitched Battle.

There were two Regiments of *French* Dragoons who did excellent Service in this Action, and maintained their Ground till they were almoſt all killed.

Had the Duke of *Savoy* contented himſelf with the Defeat of five Regiments on the Right, which he quite broke and drove into the Wood, and with the Slaughter and Havock which he had made among the reſt, he had come off with Honour, and might have called it a Victory; but

but endeavouring to break the whole Party, and carry off ſome Cannon, the obſtinate Reſiſtance of theſe few Dragoons loſt him his Advantages, and held him in play till ſo many freſh Troops got through the Paſs again, as made us too ſtrong for him; and had not Night parted them he had been entirely defeated.

At laſt finding our Troops encreaſe and ſpread themſelves on his Flank, he retired and gave over, we had no great Stomach to purſue him neither, tho' ſome Horſe were ordered to follow a little Way.

The Duke loſt above a thouſand Men, and we almoſt twice as many, and but for thoſe Dragoons, had loſt the whole Rear-guard and half our Cannon. I was in a very ſorry Caſe in this Action too, I was with the Rear in the Regiment of Horſe of *Perigoort*, with a Captain of which Regiment I had contracted ſome Acquaintance; I would have rid off at firſt, as the Captain deſired me, but there was no doing it, for the Cannon was in the Lane, and the Horſe and Dragoons of the Van eagerly preſſing back through the Lane, muſt have run me down, or carried me with them: As for the Wood, it was a good Shelter to ſave ones Life, but was ſo thick there was no paſſing it on Horſeback.

Our Regiment was one of the firſt that was broke, and being all in Confuſion, with the Duke of *Savoy*'s Men at our Heels, away we ran into the Wood; never was there ſo much Diſorder among a Parcel of Runaways as when we came to this Wood, it was ſo exceeding buſhy and thick at the Bottom there was no entring it, and a Volley of ſmall Shot from a Regiment of *Savoy*'s Dragoons poured in upon us at our breaking into the Wood made terrible Work among our Horſes.

For

For my Part I was got into the Wood, but was forced to quit my Horſe, and by that means with a great deal of Difficulty got a little farther in, where there was a little open Place, and being quite ſpent with labouring among the Buſhes, I ſat down reſolving to take my Fate there, let it be what it would, for I was not able to go any farther; I had twenty or thirty more in the ſame Condition came to me in leſs than half an Hour, and here we waited very ſecurely the Succeſs of the Battle, which was as before.

It was no ſmall Relief to thoſe with me to hear the *Savoyards* were beaten, for otherwiſe they had all been loſt; as for me, I confeſs, I was glad as it was, becauſe of the Danger, but otherwiſe I cared not much which had the better, for I deſigned no Service among them.

One Kindneſs it did me, that I began to conſider what I had to do here, and as I could give but a very ſlender Account of my ſelf for what it was I run all theſe Riſques, ſo I reſolved they ſhould fight it out among themſelves, for I would come among them no more.

The Captain with whom, as I noted above, I had contracted ſome Acquaintance in this Regiment, was killed in this Action, and the *French* had really a great Blow here, though they took Care to conceal it all they could; and I cannot, without ſmiling, read ſome of the Hiſtories and Memoirs of this Action, which they are not aſhamed to call a Victory.

We marched on to *Saluces*, and the next Day the Duke of *Savoy* preſented himſelf in Batallia on the other Side of a ſmall River giving us a fair Challenge to paſs and engage him: We always ſaid in our Camp that the Orders were to

fight

fight the Duke of *Savoy* where-ever we met him; but tho' he braved us in our View, we did not care to engage him, but we brought *Saluces* to ſurrender upon Articles, which the Duke could not relieve without attacking our Camp, which he did not care to do.

The next Morning we had News of the Surrender of *Mantua* to the *Imperial* Army; we heard of it firſt from the Duke of *Savoy*'s Cannon, which he fired by way of Rejoycing, and which ſeemed to make him Amends for the loſs of *Saluces*.

As this was a Mortification to the *French*, ſo it quite damped the Succeſs of the Campaign, for the Duke *de Momorency* imagining that the *Imperial* General would ſend immediate Aſſiſtance to the Marquis *Spinola*, who beſieged *Caſal*, they call'd frequent Councils of War what Courſe to take, and at laſt reſolved to halt in *Piedmont*.

A few Days after their Reſolutions were changed again, by the News of the Death of the Duke of *Savoy*, *Charles Emanuel*, who died, as ſome ſay, agitated with the Extreams of Joy and Grief.

This put our Generals upon conſidering again, whether they ſhould march to the Relief of *Caſal*, but the Chimera of the *Germans* put them by, and ſo they took up Quarters in *Piedmont*; they took ſeveral ſmall Places from the Duke of *Savoy*, making Advantage of the Conſternation the Duke's Subjects were in on the Death of their Prince, and ſpread themſelves from the Sea-ſide to the Banks of the *Po*.

But here an Enemy did that for them which the *Savoyards* could not, for the Plague got into their Quarters and deſtroyed abundance of People, both of the Army and of the Country.

I thought

I thought then it was Time for me to be gone, for I had no manner of Courage for that Riſque; and I think verily I was more afraid of being taken ſick in a ſtrange Country, than ever I was of being killed in Battle. Upon this Reſolution I procured a Paſs to go for *Genoa*, and acordingly began my Journey, but was arreſted at *Villa Franca* by a ſlow lingring Fever, which held me about five Days, and then turned to a burning Malignancy, and at laſt to the Plague: My Friend, the Captain, never left me Night nor Day; and though for four Days more I knew no Body, nor was capable of ſo much as thinking of my ſelf, yet it pleaſed God that the Diſtemper gathered in my Neck, ſwelled and broke; during the Swelling I was raging mad with the Violence of Pain, which being ſo near my Head, ſwelled that alſo in Proportion, that my Eyes were ſwelled up, and for twenty four Hours my Tongue and Mouth; then, as my Servant told me, all the Phyſicians gave me over, as paſt all Remedy, but by the good Providence of God the Swelling broke.

The prodigious Collection of Matter which this Swelling diſcharged, gave me immediate Relief, and I became ſenſible in leſs than an Hour's Time; and in two Hours, or thereabouts, fell into a little Slumber which recovered my Spirits, and ſenſibly revived me. Here I lay by it till the Middle of *September*, my Captain fell ſick after me, but recovered quickly; his Man had the Plague, and died in two Days; my Man held it out well.

About the Middle of *September* we heard of a Truce concluded between all Parties, and being unwilling to winter at *Villa Franca*, I got Paſſes, and

and though we were both but weak began to travel in Litters for *Milan*.

And here I experienced the Truth of an old *Engliſh* Proverb, *That Standers-by ſee more than the Gameſters.*

The *French*, *Savoyards* and *Spaniards* made this Peace or Truce all for ſeparate and ſeveral Grounds, and every one were miſtaken.

The *French* yielded to it becauſe they had given over the Relief of *Caſal*, and were very much afraid it would fall into the Hands of the Marquiſs *Spinola*. The *Savoyards* yielded to it becauſe they were afraid the *French* would winter in *Piedmont*; the *Spaniards* yielded to it becauſe the Duke of *Savoy* being dead, and the Count *de Colalto*, the *Imperial* General, giving no Aſſiſtance, and his Army weakened by Sickneſs and the Fatigues of the Siege, he foreſaw he ſhould never take the Town, and wanted but to come off with Honour.

The *French* were miſtaken, becauſe really *Spinola* was ſo weak, that had they marched on into *Montferrat* the *Spaniards* muſt have raiſed the Siege; the Duke of *Savoy* was miſtaken, becauſe the Plague had ſo weakened the *French* that they durſt not have ſtaid to winter in *Piedmont*; and *Spinola* was miſtaken, for tho' he was very ſlow, if he had ſtaid before the Town one Fortnight longer *Thoiras* the Governour muſt have ſurrendred, being brought to the laſt Extremity.

Of all theſe Miſtakes the *French* had the Advantage, for *Caſal* was relieved, the Army had Time to be recruited, and the *French* had the beſt of it by an early Campaign.

I paſt through *Montferrat* in my Way to *Milan* juſt as the Truce was declared, and ſaw the miſerable Remains of the *Spaniſh* Army, who

by

by Sickneſs, Fatigue, hard Duty, the Sallies of the Garriſon, and ſuch like Conſequences, were reduced to leſs than 2000 Men, and of them above 1000 lay wounded and ſick in the Camp.

Here were ſeveral Reigments which I ſaw drawn out to their Arms that could not make up above 70 or 80 Men, Officers and all, and thoſe half ſtarved with Hunger, almoſt naked, and in a lamentable Condition. From thence I went into the Town, and there Things were ſtill in a worſe Condition, the Houſes beaten down, the Walls and Works ruined, the Garriſon, by continual Duty, reduced from 4500 Men to leſs than 800, without Clothes, Money, or Proviſions. The brave Governour weak with continual Fatigue, and the whole Face of things in a miſerable Caſe.

The *French* Generals had juſt ſent them Thirty Thouſand Crowns for preſent Supply, which heartened them a little, but had not the Truce been made as it was, they muſt have ſurrendred upon what Terms the *Spaniards* had pleaſed to make them.

Never were two Armies in ſuch Fear of one another with ſo little Cauſe; the *Spaniards* afraid of the *French* whom the Plague had devoured, and the *French* afraid of the *Spaniards* whom the Siege had almoſt ruined.

The Grief of this Miſtake, together with the Senſe of his Maſter, the *Spaniards*, leaving him without Supplies to compleat the Siege of *Caſal*, ſo affected the Marqueſs *Spinola* that he died for Grief, and in him fell the laſt of that rare breed of *Low Country* Soldiers who gave the World ſo great and juſt a Character of the *Spaniſh* Infantry as the beſt Soldiers of the World;

World; a Character which we ſee them ſo very much degenerated from ſince, that they hardly deſerve the Name of Soldiers.

I tarried at *Milan* the reſt of the Winter, both for the Recovery of my Health, and alſo for Supplies from *England*.

Here it was I firſt heard the Name of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, the King of *Sweden*, who now began his War with the Emperor; and while the King of *France* was at *Lyons*, the League with *Sweden* was made, in which the *French* contributed 1200000 Crowns in Money, and 600000 *per An.* to the Attempt of *Guſtavus Adolphus*: About this Time he landed in *Pomerania*, took the Towns of *Stetin* and *Straelſund*, and from thence proceeded in that prodigious Manner, of which I ſhall have Occaſion to be very particular in the Proſecution of theſe Memoirs.

I had indeed no Thoughts of ſeeing that King, or his Armies, I had been ſo roughly handled already that I had given over the Thoughts of appearing among the fighting People, and reſolved in the Spring to purſue my Journey to *Venice*, and ſo for the reſt of *Italy*.

Yet I cannot deny, that as every Gazette gave us ſome Accounts of the Conqueſts and Victories of this glorious Prince, it prepoſſeſſed my Thoughts with ſecret Wiſhes of ſeeing him, but theſe were ſo young and unſettled, that I drew no Reſolutions from them for a long while after.

About the Middle of *January* I left *Milan* and came to *Genoa*, from thence by Sea to *Leghorn*, then to *Naples*, *Rome* and *Venice*, but ſaw nothing in *Italy* that gave me any Diverſion.

As for what is modern, I ſaw nothing but Lewdneſs, private Murthers, ſtabbing Men at the Corner of a Street, or in the dark, hiring of Bravoes,

Bravoes, and the like; all the Diverſions here ended in Whoring, Gaming and Sodomy, theſe were to me the modern Excellencies of *Italy*; and I had no Guſt to Antiquities.

'Twas pleaſant indeed when I was at *Rome* to ſay here ſtood the Capitol, there the Coloſſus of *Nero*, here was the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, there the Aqueduct of ------ here the Forum, there the Catacombs, here the Temple of *Venus*, there of *Jupiter*, here the Pantheon, and the like; but I never deſigned to write a Book, as much as was uſeful I kept in my Head; and for the reſt, I left it to others.

I obſerved the People degenerated from the ancient glorious Inhabitants, who were generous, brave, and the moſt valiant of all Nations, to a vicious Baſeneſs of Soul, barbarous, treacherous, jealous and revengeful, lewd and cowardly, intolerably proud and haughty, bigotted to blind, incoherent Devotion, and the groſſeſt of Idolatry.

Indeed I think the Unſuitableneſs of the People made the Place unpleaſant to me, for there is ſo little in a Country to recommend it when the People diſgrace it, that no Beauties of the Creation can make up for the Want of thoſe Excellencies which ſuitable Society procure the Defect of; this made *Italy* a very unpleaſant Country to me, the People were the Foil to the Place, all manner of hateful Vices reigning in their general Way of living.

I confeſs I was not very religious my ſelf, and being come abroad into the World young enough, might eaſily have been drawn into Evils that had recommended themſelves with any tolerable Agreeableneſs to Nature and common Manners; but when Wickedneſs preſented it ſelf full grown in its groſſeſt Freedoms and Liberties, it quite took away

away all the Guſt to Vice that the Devil had furniſhed me with, and in this I cannot but relate one Scene which paſſed between no Body but the Devil and my ſelf.

At a certain Town in *Italy*, which ſhall be nameleſs, becauſe I won't celebrate the Proficiency of one Place more than another, when I believe the whole Country equally wicked, I was prevailed upon rather than tempted, *a la Courtezan.*

If I ſhould deſcribe the Woman I muſt give a very mean Character of my own Virtue to ſay I was allured by any but a Woman of an extraordinary Figure; her Face, Shape, Mein, and Dreſs, I may, without Vanity, ſay, the fineſt that I ever ſaw: When I had Admittance into her Apartments, the Riches and Magnificence of them aſtoniſhed me, the Cupboard or Cabinet of Plate, the Jewels, the Tapeſtry, and every Thing in Proportion, made me queſtion whether I was not in the Chamber of ſome Lady of the beſt Quality; ----- but when after ſome Converſation I found that it was really nothing but a Courtezan, in *Engliſh*, a common Street Whore, a Punk of the Trade, I was amazed, and my Inclination to her Perſon began to cool; her Converſation exceeded, if poſſible, the beſt of Quality, and was, I muſt own, exceeding agreeable; ſhe ſung to her Lute, and danced as fine as ever I ſaw, and thus diverted me two Hours before any Thing elſe was diſcourſed of; ---- but when the vicious Part came on the Stage, I bluſh to relate the Confuſion I was in, and when ſhe made a certain Motion by which I underſtood ſhe might be made uſe of, either as a Lady, or as ----- I was quite Thunder-ſtruck, all the vicious Part of my Thoughts vaniſhed, the Place filled me with Horror, and I was all over Diſorder and Diſtraction.

I began however to recollect where I was, and that in this Country theſe were People not to be affronted; and though ſhe eaſily ſaw the Diſorder I was in, ſhe turned it off with admirable Dexterity, began to talk again *a la Gallant*, received me as a Viſitant, offered me Sweetmeats and ſome Wine.

Here I began to be in more Confuſion than before, for I concluded ſhe would neither offer me to eat or to drink now *without Poiſon*, and I was very ſhy of taſting her Treat, but ſhe ſcattered this Fear immediately, by readily, and of her own accord, not only taſting but eating freely of every Thing ſhe gave me; whether ſhe perceived my Warineſs, or the Reaſon of it, I know not, I could not help baniſhing my Suſpicion, the obliging Carriage and ſtrange Charm of her Converſation had ſo much Power of me, that I both eat and drank with her at all Hazards.

When I offered to go, and at parting preſented her five Piſtoles, I could not prevail with her to take them, when ſhe ſpoke ſome *Italian* Proverb which I could not readily underſtand, but by my Gueſs it ſeemed to imply, that *ſhe would not take the Pay, having not obliged me otherwiſe:* At laſt I laid the Pieces on her Toilet, and would not receive them again; upon which ſhe obliged me to paſs my Word to viſit her again, elſe ſhe would by no Means accept my Preſent.

I confeſs I had a ſtrong Inclination to viſit her again, and beſides thought my ſelf obliged to it in Honour to my Parole; but after ſome Strife in my Thoughts about it, I reſolved to break my Word with her, when going at Veſpers one Evening to ſee their Devotions, I happened to meet this very Lady very devoutly going to her Prayers.

At her coming out of the Church I ſpoke to her, ſhe paid me her Reſpects with a *Seignior Ingleſe*, and ſome Words ſhe ſaid in *Spaniſh* ſmiling, which I did not underſtand; I cannot ſay here ſo clearly as I would be glad I might, that I broke my Word with her; but if I ſaw her any more I ſaw nothing of what gave me ſo much Offence before.

The End of my relating this Story is anſwered in deſcribing the Manner of their Addreſs, without bringing my ſelf to Confeſſion; if I did any Thing I have ſome Reaſon to be aſhamed of, it may be a leſs Crime to conceal it than expoſe it.

The Particulars related however, may lead the Reader of theſe Sheets to a View of what gave me a particular Diſguſt at this pleaſant Part of the World, as they pretend to call it, and made me quit the Place ſooner than Travellers uſe to do that come thither to ſatisfy their Curioſity.

The prodigious ſtupid Bigottry of the People alſo was irkſome to me; I thought there was ſomething in it very ſordid, the entire Empire the Prieſts have over both the Souls and Bodies of the People, gave me a Specimen of that Meanneſs of Spirit which is no where elſe to be ſeen but in *Italy*, eſpecially in the City of *Rome*.

At *Venice* I perceived it quite different, the Civil Authority having a viſible Superiority over the Eccleſiaſtick; and the Church being more ſubject there to the State than in any other Part of *Italy*.

For theſe Reaſons I took no Pleaſure in filling my Memoirs of *Italy* with Remarks of Places or Things, all the Antiquities and valuable Remains of the *Roman* Nation are done better than

I can pretend to by ſuch People who made it more their Buſineſs; as for me, I went to ſee, and not to write, and as little thought then of theſe Memoirs, as I ill furniſhed my ſelf to write them.

I left *Italy* in *April*, and taking the Tour of *Bavaria*, though very much out of the Way, I paſſed through *Munick*, *Paſſaw*, *Lints*, and at laſt to *Vienna*.

I came to *Vienna* the 10th of *April* 1631, intending to have gone from thence down the *Danube* into *Hungary*, and by Means of a Paſs which I had obtained from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, I deſigned to have ſeen all thoſe great Towns on the *Danube* which were then in the Hands of the *Turks*, and which I had read much of in the Hiſtory of the War between the *Turks* and the *Germans*; but I was diverted from my Deſign by the following Occaſion.

There had been a long bloody War in the Empire of *Germany* for 12 Years, between the Emperor, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the King of *Spain*, and the Popiſh Princes and Electors on the one Side, and the Proteſtant Princes on the other; and both Sides having been exhauſted by the War, and even the Catholicks themſelves beginning to diſlike the growing Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, 'twas thought all Parties were willing to make Peace.

Nay, Things were brought to that Paſs that ſome of the Popiſh Princes and Electors began to talk of making Alliances with the King of *Sweden*.

Here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the two Dukes of *Mecklenburgh* having been diſpoſſeſſed of moſt of their Dominions by the Tyranny of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and being in danger of loſing the reſt, earneſtly ſollicited the King of

Sweden,

Sweden to come to their Aſſiſtance; and that Prince, as he was related to the Houſe of *Mecklenburgh*, and eſpecially as he was willing to lay hold of any Opportunity to break with the Emperor, againſt whom he had laid up an implacable Prejudice, was very ready and forward to come to their Aſſiſtance.

The Reaſons of his Quarrel with the Emperor were grounded upon the *Imperialiſts* concerning themſelves in the War of *Poland*, where the Emperor had ſent 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe to join the *Poliſh* Army againſt the King, and had thereby given ſome Check to his Arms in that War.

In Purſuance therefore of his Reſolution to quarrel with the Emperor, but more particularly at the Inſtance of the Princes above-named, his *Swediſh* Majeſty had landed the Year before at *Straelſund* with about 12000 Men, and having joined with ſome Forces which he had left in *Poliſh Pruſſia*, all which did not make 30000 Men, he began a War with the Emperor, the greateſt in Event, filled with the moſt famous Battels, Sieges and extraordinary Actions, including its wonderful Succeſs and happy Concluſion, of any War ever maintained in the World.

The King of *Sweden* had already taken *Stetin*, *Straelſund*, *Roſtock*, *Wiſmar*, and all the ſtrong Places on the *Baltick*, and began to ſpread himſelf in *Germany*; he had made a League with the *French*, as I obſerved in my Story of *Saxony*, he had now made a Treaty with the Duke of *Brandenburg*, and, in ſhort, began to be terrible to the Empire.

In this Conjuncture the Emperor called the General Diet of the Empire to be held at *Ratisbon*, where, as was pretended, all Sides were to treat of Peace and to join Forces to beat the

Swedes out of the Empire. Here the Emperor, by a moſt exquiſite Management, brought the Affairs of the Diet to a Concluſion, exceedingly to his own Advantage and to the farther Oppreſſion of the Proteſtants; and in particular, in that the War againſt the King of *Sweden* was to be carried on in ſuch Manner as that the whole Burthen and Charge would lie on the Proteſtants themſelves, and they be made the Inſtruments to oppoſe their beſt Friends. Other Matters alſo ended equally to their Diſadvantage, as the Methods reſolved on to recover the Church-Lands, and to prevent the Education of the Proteſtant Clergy; and what remained was referred to another General Diet to be held at *Frankfort au Main*, in *Auguſt* 1631.

I won't pretend to ſay the other Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* had never made any Overtures to the King of *Sweden* to come to their Aſſiſtance, but 'tis plain they had entred into no League with him; that appears from the Difficulties which retarded the fixing the Treaties afterward, both with the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony* which unhappily occaſioned the Ruine of *Magdenburgh*.

But 'tis Plain the *Swede* was reſolved on a War with the Emperor; his *Swediſh* Majeſty might and indeed could not but foreſee that if he once ſhewed himſelf with a ſufficient Force on the Frontiers of the Empire, all the Proteſtant Princes would be obliged by their Intereſt or by his Arms to fall in with him, and this the Conſequence made appear to be a juſt Concluſion; for the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony* were both forced to join with him.

Firſt, They were willing to join with him, at leaſt they could not find in their Hearts to

join

join with the Emperor, of whoſe Power they had ſuch juſt Apprehenſions; they wiſhed the *Swedes* Succeſs, and would have been very glad to have had the Work done at another Man's Charge; but like true *Germans* they were more willing to be ſaved than to ſave themſelves, and therefore hung back and ſtood upon Terms.

Secondly, They were at laſt forced to it; the firſt was forced to join by the King of *Sweden* himſelf, who being come ſo far was not to be dallied with; and had not the Duke of *Brandenburgh* complied as he did, he had been ruined by the *Swede*; the *Saxon* was driven into the Arms of the *Swede* by Force, for Count *Tilly* Ravaging his Country made him comply with any Terms to be ſaved from Deſtruction.

Thus Matters ſtood at the End of the Diet at *Ratisbon*; the King of *Sweden* began to ſee himſelf leagued againſt at the Diet both by Proteſtant and Papiſt; and, *as I have often heard his Maieſty ſay ſince*, he had reſolved to try to force them off from the Emperor, and to treat them as Enemies equally with the Reſt if they did not.

But the Proteſtants convinced him ſoon after, that tho' they were tricked into the outward Appearance of a League againſt him at *Ratisbon*, they had no ſuch Intentions; and by their Ambaſſadors to him let him know, that they only wanted his powerful Aſſiſtance to defend their Councils, when they would ſoon convince him that they had a due Senſe of the Emperor's Deſigns, and would do their utmoſt for their Liberty; and theſe I take to be the firſt Invitations the King of *Sweden* had to undertake the Proteſtant Cauſe as ſuch, and which entitled him to ſay he fought for the Liberty and Religion of the *German* Nation.

I have had ſome particular Opportunities to hear theſe Things from the Mouths of ſome of the very Princes themſelves, and therefore am the forwarder to relate them; and I place them here, becauſe previous to the part I acted on this bloody Scene, 'tis neceſſary to let the Reader into ſome Part of the Story, and to ſhew him in what Manner and on what Occaſions this terrible War began.

The Proteſtants, alarmed at the Uſage they had met with at the former Diet, had ſecretly propoſed among themſelves to form a general Union or Confederacy, for preventing that Ruin which they ſaw, unleſs ſome ſpeedy Remedies were applied, would be inevitable. The Elector of *Saxony*, the Head of the Proteſtants, a vigorous and politick Prince, was the firſt that moved it; and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, a zealous and gallant Prince, being conſulted with, it reſted a great while between thoſe two, no Method being found practicable to bring it to paſs; the Emperor being ſo powerful in all Parts, that they foreſaw the petty Princes would not dare to negotiate an Affair of ſuch a Nature, being ſurrounded with the *Imperial* Forces, who by their two Generals, *Walleſtein* and *Tilly*, kept them in continual Subjection and Terror.

This Dilemma had like to have ſtifled the Thoughts of the Union as a Thing impracticable, when one *Seigenſius*, a *Lutheran* Miniſter, a Perſon of great Abilities, and one whom the Elector of *Saxony* made great Uſe of in Matters of Policy as well as Religion, contrived for them this excellent Expedient.

I had the Honour to be acquainted with this Gentleman while I was at *Leipſick*; it pleaſed him exceedingly to have been the Contriver

of

of ſo fine a Structure as the *Concluſions of Leipſick*, and he was glad to be entertained on that Subject; I had the Relation from his own Mouth, when, but very modeſtly, he told me he thought 'twas an Inſpiration darted on a ſudden into his Thoughts, when the Duke of *Saxony* calling him into his Cloſet one Morning, with a Face full of Concern, ſhaking his Head and looking very earneſtly, *What will become of us, Doctor?* ſaid the Duke, *we ſhall all be undone at* Frankfort au Main. *Why ſo, pleaſe your Highneſs?* ſays the Doctor, *Why they will fight with the King of* Sweden *with our Armies and our Money*, ſays the Duke, *and devour our Friends and our ſelves, by the help of our Friends and our ſelves: But what is become of the Confederacy then*, ſaid the Doctor, *which your Highneſs had ſo happily framed in your Thoughts, and which the Landgrave of* Heſſe *was ſo pleaſed with? Become of it*, ſays the Duke, *'tis a good Thought enough, but 'tis impoſſible to bring it to paſs among ſo many Members of the Proteſtant Princes as are to be conſulted with, for we neither have Time to treat, nor will half of them dare to negotiate the Matter, the* Imperialiſts *being quarter'd in their very Bowels. But may not ſome Expedient be found out*, ſays the Doctor, *to bring them all together to treat of it in a General Meeting? 'Tis well propoſed*, ſays the Duke, *but in what Town or City ſhall they aſſemble where the very Deputies ſhall not be beſieged by* Tilly *or* Walleſtein *in* 14 *Days Time, and ſacrificed to the Cruelty and Fury of the Emperor* Ferdinand? *Will your Highneſs be the eaſier in it*, replies the Doctor, *if a way may be found out to call ſuch an Aſſembly upon other Cauſes, at which the Emperor may have no Umbrage, and perhaps give his Aſſent? You know the Diet at* Frankfort *is at Hand*; *'tis neceſſary the Proteſtants ſhould have an Aſſembly of their own, to prepare Matters for the General Diet, and it may be*

no difficult Matter to obtain it. The Duke, ſurprized with Joy at the Motion, embraced the Doctor with an extraordinary Tranſport, *Thou haſt done it, Doctor,* ſaid he, and immediately cauſed him to draw a Form of a Letter to the Emperor, which he did with the utmoſt Dexterity of Style, in which he was a great Maſter, repreſenting to his *Imperial* Majeſty, that in order to put an End to the Troubles of *Germany,* his Majeſty would be pleaſed to permit the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire to hold a Diet to themſelves, to conſider of ſuch Matters as they were to treat of at the General Diet, in order to conform themſelves to the Will and Pleaſure of his *Imperial* Majeſty, to drive out Foreigners, and ſettle a laſting Peace in the Empire; he alſo inſinuated ſomething of their Reſolutions unanimouſly to give their Suffrages in favour of the King of *Hungary* at the Election of a King of the *Romans,* a thing which he knew the Emperor had in his Thought, and would puſh at with all his Might at the Diet. This Letter was ſent, and the Bait ſo neatly concealed, that the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Mentz,* the King of *Hungary,* and ſeveral of the Popiſh Princes, not foreſeeing that the Ruin of them all lay in the bottom of it, fooliſhly adviſed the Emperor to conſent to it.

In conſenting to this the Emperor ſigned his own Deſtruction, for here began the Conjunction of the *German* Proteſtants with the *Swede,* which was the fataleſt blow to *Ferdinand,* and which he could never recover.

Accordingly the Diet was held at *Leipſick, Feb.* 8, 1630, where the Proteſtants agreed on ſeveral Heads for their mutual Defence, which were the Grounds of the following War; theſe were *the Famous Concluſions of Leipſick,* which ſo alarmed the

the Emperor and the whole Empire, that to cruſh it in the Beginning, the Emperor commanded Count *Tilly* immediately to fall upon the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Saxony*, as the principal Heads of the Union; but it was too late.

The Concluſions were digeſted into ten Heads;

1. That ſince their Sins had brought God's Judgments upon the whole Proteſtant Church, they ſhould command Publick Prayers to be made to Almighty God for the diverting the Calamities that attended them.

2. That a Treaty of Peace might be ſet on Foot, in order to come to a right Underſtanding with the Catholick Princes.

3. That a Time for ſuch a Treaty being obtained, they ſhould appoint an Aſſembly of Delegates to meet preparatory to the Treaty.

4. That all their Complaints ſhould be humbly repreſented to his *Imperial* Majeſty, and the Catholick Electors, in order to a peaceable Accommodation.

5. That they claim the Protection of the Emperor, according to the Laws of the Empire, and the preſent Emperor's ſolemn Oath and Promiſe.

6. That they would appoint Deputies who ſhould meet at certain Times to conſult of their common Intereſt, and who ſhould be always empoured to conclude of what ſhould be thought needful for their Safety.

7. That they will raiſe a competent Force to maintain and defend their Liberties, Rights and Religion.

8. That it is agreeable to the Conſtitution of the Empire, concluded in the Diet at *Ausburg* to do ſo.

9. That the arming for their neceſſary Defence ſhall by no Means hinder their Obedience to his *Imperial* Majeſty, but that they will ſtill continue their Loyalty to him.

10. They agree to Proportion their Forces, which in all amounted to 70000 Men.

The Emperor, exceedingly ſtartled at the Concluſions, iſſued out a ſevere Proclamation or Ban againſt them, which imported much the ſame Thing as a Declaration of War, and commanded *Tilly* to begin, and immediately to fall on the Duke of *Saxony* with all the Fury imaginable, as I have already obſerved.

Here began the Flame to break out; for upon the Emperor's Ban, the Proteſtants ſend away to the King of *Sweden* for Succour.

His *Swediſh* Majeſty had already conquered *Mecklenburgh*, and Part of *Pomerania*, and was advancing with his victorious Troops, encreaſed by the Addition of ſome Regiments raiſed in thoſe Parts, in order to carry on the War againſt the Emperor, having deſigned to follow up the *Oder* into *Sileſia*, and ſo to puſh the War home to the Emperor's Hereditary Countries of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, when the firſt Meſſengers came to him in this Caſe; but this changed his Meaſures, and brought him to the Frontiers of *Brandenburgh*, reſolved to anſwer the Deſires of the Proteſtants: But here the Duke of *Brandenburgh* began to halt, making ſome Difficulties and demanding Terms which drove the King to uſe ſome Extremities with him, and ſtopt the *Swedes* for a while, who had otherwiſe been on the Banks of the *Elbe*, as ſoon as *Tilly* the *Imperial* General had entred *Saxony*, which if they had done, the miſerable Deſtruction of *Magdenburgh* had been prevented, as I obſerved before.

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The King had been invited into the Union, and when he firſt came back from the Banks of the *Oder* he had accepted it, and was preparing to back it with all his Power.

The Duke of *Saxony* had already a good Army, which he had with infinite Diligence recruited, and muſtered them under the Cannon of *Leipſick*. The King of *Sweden* having, by his Ambaſſador at *Leipſick*, entred into the Union of the Proteſtants, was advancing victoriouſly to their Aid, juſt as Count *Tilly* had enter'd the Duke of *Saxony*'s Dominions. The Fame of the *Swediſh* Conqueſts, and of the Hero who commanded them, ſhook my Reſolution of travelling into *Turkey*, being reſolved to ſee the Conjunction of the Proteſtants Armies, and before the Fire was broke out too far to take the Advantage of ſeeing both ſides.

While I remained at *Vienna*, uncertain which Way I ſhould proceed, I remember I obſerved they talked of the King of *Sweden* as a Prince of no Conſideration, one that they might let go on and tire himſelf in *Mecklenbergh*, and thereabout, till they could find Leiſure to deal with him, and then might be cruſhed as they pleaſed; but as 'tis never ſafe to deſpiſe an Enemy, ſo this was not an Enemy to be *deſpiſed*, as they afterwards found.

As to the Concluſions of *Leipſick*, indeed at firſt they gave the *Imperial* Court ſome Uneaſineſs, but when they found the *Imperial* Armies began to fright the Members out of the Union, and that the ſeveral Branches had no conſiderable Forces on Foot, it was the general Diſcourſe at *Vienna*, that the Union at *Leipſick* only gave the Emperor an Opportunity to cruſh abſolutely the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, and the Landgrave

grave of *Heſſe*, and they looked upon it as a Thing certain.

I never ſaw any real Concern in their Faces at *Vienna*, 'till News came to Court that the King of *Sweden* had entered into the Union; but as this made them very uneaſie, they began to move the powerfulleſt Methods poſſible to divert this Storm; and upon this News *Tilly* was haſtened to fall into *Saxony* before this Union could proceed to a Conjunction of Forces. This was certainly a very good Reſolution, and no Meaſure could have been more exactly concerted had not the Diligence of the *Saxons* prevented it.

The gathering of this Storm, which from a Cloud began to ſpread over the Empire, and from the little Dutchy of *Mecklenburgh* began to threaten all *Germany*, abſolutely determined me, as I noted before, as to travelling; and laying aſide the Thoughts of *Hungary*, I reſolved, if poſſible, to ſee the King of *Sweden*'s Army.

I parted from *Vienna* the middle of *May*, and took poſt for *Great Glogau* in *Sileſia*, as if I had purpoſed to paſs into *Poland*, but deſigning indeed to go down the *Oder* to *Cuſtrin* in the Marquiſate of *Brandenburgh*; and ſo to *Berlin*; but when I came to the Frontiers of *Sileſia*, tho' I had Paſſes I could go no farther, the Guards on all the Frontiers were ſo ſtrict; ſo I was obliged to come back into *Bohemia*, and went to *Prague*.

From hence I found I could eaſily paſs through the *Imperial* Provinces to the *Lower Saxony*, and accordingly took Paſſes for *Hamburgh*, deſigning however to uſe them no farther than I found Occaſion.

By Virtue of theſe Paſſes I got into the *Imperial* Army, under Count *Tilly*, then at the Siege of *Magdenburgh*, *May* the 2d.

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I confeſs I did not foreſee the Fate of this City, neither I believe did Count *Tilly* himſelf expect to glut his Fury with ſo entire a Deſolation, much leſs did the People expect it. I did believe they muſt capitulate, and I perceived by Diſcourſe in the Army, that *Tilly* would give them but very indifferent Conditions; but it fell out otherwiſe; the Treaty of Surrender was as it were begun, nay ſome ſay concluded, when ſome of the Out-guards of the *Imperialiſts* finding the Citizens had abandoned the Guards of the Works, and looked to themſelves with leſs Diligence than uſual, they broke in, carried an Half-Moon Sword in Hand with little Reſiſtance; and tho' it was a Surprize on both Sides, the Citizens neither fearing, nor the Army expecting the Occaſion, the Garriſon, with as much Reſolution as could be expected under ſuch a Fright, flew to the Walls, twice beat the *Imperialiſts* off, but freſh Men coming up, and the Adminiſtrator of *Magdenburgh* himſelf being wounded and taken, the Enemy broke in, took the City by Storm, and entred with ſuch terrible Fury, that without Reſpect to Age or Condition, they put all the Garriſon and Inhabitants, Man, Woman and Child, to the Sword, plundered the City, and when they had done this, ſet it on Fire.

This Calamity ſure was the dreadfulleſt Sight that ever I ſaw; the Rage of the *Imperial* Soldiers was moſt intolerable, and not to be expreſſed; of 25000, ſome ſaid 30000 People, there was not a Soul to be ſeen alive, till the Flames drove thoſe that were hid in Vaults and ſecret Places to ſeek Death in the Streets, rather than periſh in the Fire: Of theſe miſerable Creatures ſome were killed too by the furious Soldiers, but at laſt they ſaved the Lives of ſuch as came out

of

of their Cellars and Holes, and ſo about 2000 poor deſperate Creatures were left: The exact Number of thoſe that periſhed in this City could never be known, becauſe thoſe the Soldiers had firſt butcher'd, the Flames afterwards devour'd.

I was on the other Side the *Elbe* when this dreadful Piece of Butchery was done; the City of *Magdenburgh* had a Sconce or Fort over againſt it, called the Toll-Houſe, which joined to the City by a very fine Bridge of Boats.

This Fort was taken by the *Imperialiſts* a few Days before, and having a Mind to ſee it, and the rather becauſe from thence I could have a very good View of the City, I was gone over *Tilly*'s Bridge of Boats to view this Fort; about 10 a Clock in the Morning I perceived they were ſtorming by the firing, and immediately all ran to the Works, I little thought of the taking the City, but imagined it might be ſome Out-work attacked, for we all expected the City would ſurrender that Day, or next, and they might have capitulated upon very good Terms.

Being upon the Works of the Fort, on a ſudden I heard the dreadfulleſt Cry raiſed in the City that can be imagined, 'tis not poſſible to expreſs the Manner of it, and I could ſee the Women and Children running about the Streets in a moſt lamentable Condition.

The City Wall did not run along the Side where the River was with ſo great a Heighth but we could plainly ſee the Market-Place and the ſeveral Streets which run down to the River: In about an Hour's Time after this firſt Cry all was Confuſion; there was little ſhooting, the Execution was all cutting of Throats and meer Houſe Murthers; the reſolute Garriſon, with the brave

brave Baron *Falconberg* fought it out to the laſt, and were cut in Pieces, and by this Time the *Imperial* Soldiers having broke open the Gates and entred on all Sides, the Slaughter was very dreadful, we could ſee the poor People in Crowds driven down the Streets, flying from the Fury of the Soldiers who followed butchering them as faſt as they could, and refuſed Mercy to any Body; 'till driving them to the River's Edge, the deſperate Wretches would throw themſelves into the River, where Thouſands of them periſhed, eſpecially Women and Children; ſeveral Men that could ſwim got over to our Side, where the Soldiers not heated with Fight gave them Quarter, and took them up, and I cannot but do this Juſtice to the *German* Officers in the Fort, they had five ſmall flat Boats, and they gave leave to the Soldiers to go off in them, and get what Booty they could, but charged them not to kill any Body, but take them all Priſoners.

Nor was their Humanity ill rewarded, for the Soldiers wiſely avoiding thoſe Places where their Fellows were employed in t he butchering the miſerable People, rowed to other Places, where Crouds of People ſtood crying out for help, and expecting to be every Minute either drowned or murdered; of theſe at ſundry Times they fetched over near Six hundred, but took Care to take in none but ſuch as offered them good Pay.

Never was Money or Jewels of greater Service than now, for thoſe that had any Thing of that ſort to offer were ſooneſt helped.

There was a Burgher of the Town, who ſeeing a Boat coming near him, but out of his Call, by the help of a ſpeaking Trumpet, told the Soldiers in it he would give them 20000 Dollers to fetch him off; they rowed cloſe to the Shore,

and got him with his Wife and ſix Children into the Boat, but ſuch Throngs of People got about the Boat that had like to have ſunk her, ſo that the Soldiers were fain to drive a great many out again by main Force, and while they were doing this, ſome of the Enemies coming down the Street deſperately drove them all into the Water.

The Boat however brought the Burgher and his Wife and Children ſafe, and though they had not all that Wealth about them, yet in Jewels and Money he gave them ſo much as made all the Fellows very rich.

I cannot pretend to deſcribe the Cruelty of this Day, the Town by five in the Afternoon was all on a Flame; the Wealth conſumed was ineſtimable, and a Loſs to the very Conqueror. I think there was little or nothing left but the great Church, and about 100 Houſes.

This was a ſad Welcome into the Army for me, and gave me a Horror and Averſion to the Emperor's People, as well as to his Cauſe. I quitted the Camp the third Day after this Execution, while the Fire was hardly out in the City; and from thence getting ſafe Conduct to paſs into the *Palatinate*, I turned out of the Road at a ſmall Village on the *Elbe*, called *Emerfield*, and by Ways and Town I can give but ſmall Account of, having a Boor for our Guide, who we could hardly underſtand. I arrived at *Leipſick* on the 17th of *May*.

We found the Elector intenſe upon the ſtrengthening of his Army, but the People, in the greateſt Terror imaginable, every Day expecting *Tilly* with the *German* Army, who by his Cruelty at *Magdeburg* was become ſo dreadful to the Proteſtants, that they expected no Mercy where-ever he came.

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The Emperor's Power was made ſo formidable to all the Proteſtants, particularly ſince the Diet at *Ratisbon* left them in a worſe Caſe than it found them, that they had not only formed the Concluſions of *Leipſick*, which all Men looked on as the Effect of Deſperation rather than any probable Means of their Deliverance, but had privately implored the Protection and Aſſiſtance of foreign Powers, and particularly the King of *Sweden*, from whom they had Promiſes of a ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance. And truly if the *Swede* had not with a very ſtrong Hand reſcued them, all their Concluſions at *Leipſick* had ſerved but to haſten their Ruin. I remember very well when I was in the *Imperial* Army they diſcourſed with ſuch Contempt of the Forces of the Proteſtants, that not only the *Imperialiſts* but the Proteſtants themſelves gave them up as loſt: the Emperor had not leſs than 200000 Men in ſeveral Armies on Foot, who moſt of them were on the back of the Proteſtants in every Corner. If *Tilly* did but write a threatning Letter to any City or Prince of the Union, they preſently ſubmittted, renounced the Concluſions of *Leipſick*, and received *Imperial* Garriſons, as the Cities of *Ulm* and *Memingen*, the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and ſeveral others, and almoſt all *Suaben*.

Only the Duke of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* upheld the drooping Courage of the Proteſtants, and refuſed all Terms of Peace; ſlighted all the Threatnings of the *Imperial* Generals, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh* was brought in afterward almoſt by Force.

The Duke of *Saxony* muſtered his Forces under the Walls of *Leipſick*, and I having returned to *Leipſick* two Days before, ſaw them paſs the Review. The Duke, gallantly mounted, rode

through the Ranks, attended by his Field Marſhal *Arnheim*, and ſeemed mighty well pleaſed with them, and indeed the Troops made a very fine Appearance; but I that had ſeen *Tilly*'s Army, and his old Weather-beaten Soldiers, whoſe Diſcipline and Exerciſes were ſo exact, and their Courage ſo often tried, could not look on the *Saxon* Army without ſome Concern for them, when I conſidered who they had to deal with; *Tilly*'s Men were rugged ſurly Fellows, their Faces had an Air of hardy Courage, mangled with Wounds and Scars, their Armour ſhewed the Bruiſes of Muſquet Bullets, and the Ruſt of the Winter Storms; I obſerved of them their Cloaths were always dirty, but their Arms were clean and bright; they were uſed to camp in the open Fields, and ſleep in the Froſts and Rain; their Horſes were ſtrong and hardy like themſelves, and well taught their Exerciſes; the Soldiers knew their Buſineſs ſo exactly that general Orders were enough; every private Man was fit to command, and their Wheelings, Marchings, Countermarchings and Exerciſes were done with ſuch Order and Readineſs that the diſtinct Words of Command were hardly of any uſe among them; they were flushed with Victory, and hardly knew what it was to fly.

There had paſſed ſome Meſſages between *Tilly* and the Duke, and he gave always ſuch ambiguous Anſwers as he thought might ſerve to gain Time; but *Tilly* was not to be put off with Words, and drawing his Army towards *Saxony*, ſends four Propoſitions to him to ſign, and demands an immediate Reply, the Propoſitions were poſitive.

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1. To cauſe his Troops to enter into the Emperor's Service, and to march in Perſon with them againſt the King of *Sweden*.

2. To give the *Imperial* Army Quarters in his Country, and ſupply them with neceſſary Proviſions.

3. To relinquiſh the Union of *Leipſick*, and diſown the 10 Concluſions.

4. To make Reſtitution of the Goods and Lands of the Church.

The Duke being preſſed by *Tilly*'s Trumpeter for an immediate Anſwer, ſat all Night, and part of the next Day in Council with his Privy Councillors, debating what Reply to give him, which at laſt was concluded, in ſhort, that he would live and die in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Concluſions of *Leipſick*, and bad *Tilly* Defiance.

The Dye being thus caſt, he immediately decamped with his whole Army for *Torgau*, fearing that *Tilly* ſhould get there before him, and ſo prevent his Conjunction with the *Swede*. The Duke had not yet concluded any poſitive Treaty with the King of *Swedeland*, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh* having made ſome Difficulty of joining, they both ſtood on ſome Niceties till they had like to have ruined themſelves all at once.

Brandenburgh had given up the Town of *Spandau* to the King by a former Treaty to ſecure a Retreat for his Army, and the King was advanced as far as *Franefort* upon the *Oder*, when on a ſudden ſome ſmall Difficulties arifing *Brandenburgh* ſeems cold in the Matter, and with a ſort of Indifference demands to have his Town of *Spandau* reſtored to him again. *Guſtavus Adolphus*, who began preſently to imagine the Duke had made his Peace with the

Emperor, and ſo would either be his Enemy, or pretend a Neutrality, generouſly delivered him his Town of *Spandau*; but immediately turns about, and with his whole Army beſieges him in his Capital City of *Berlin*. This brought the Duke to know his Error, and by the Interpoſition of the Ladies, the Queen of *Sweden* being the Duke's Siſter, the Matter was accommodated, and the Duke joined his Forces with the King.

But the Duke of *Saxony* had like to have been undone by this Delay, for the *Imperialiſts*, under Count *de Furſtemburgh*, were entred his Country, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Hall*, and *Tilly* was on his March to join him, as he afterwards did, and ravaging the whole Country laid Siege to *Leipſick* it ſelf; the Duke driven to this Extremity rather flies to the *Swede* than treats with him, and on the ſecond of *September* the Duke's Army joined with the King of *Sweden*.

I had not come to *Leipſick* but to ſee the Duke of *Saxony*'s Army, and that being marched as I have ſaid for *Torgau*, I had no Buſineſs there; but if I had, the approach of *Tilly* and the *Imperial* Army was enough to haſten me away, for I had no Occaſion to be beſieged there; ſo on the 27th of *Auguſt* I left the Town, as ſeveral of the principal Inhabitants had done before, and more would have done had not the Governor publiſhed a Proclamation againſt it; and beſides they knew not whether to fly, for all Places were alike expoſed, the poor People were under dreadful Apprehenſions of a Siege, and of the mercileſs Uſage of the *Imperial* Soldiers, the Example of *Magdeburgh* being freſh before them, the Duke and his Army gone from them, and the Town, though well furniſhed, but indifferently fortified.

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In this Condition I left them, buying up Stores of Proviſions, working hard to ſcour their Moats, ſet up Paliſadoes, repair their Fortifications, and preparing all Things for a Siege; and following the *Saxon* Army to *Torgau*, I continued in the Camp till a few Days before they joined the King of *Sweden*.

I had much ado to perſuade my Companion from entring into the Service of the Duke of *Saxony*, one of whoſe Collonels, with whom we had contracted a particular Acquaintance, offering him a Commiſſion to be Cornet in one of the old Regiments of Horſe; but the Difference I had obſerved between this new Army and *Tilly*'s old Troops had made ſuch an Impreſſion on me, that I confeſs I had yet no manner of Inclination for the Service; and therefore perſuaded him to wait a while till we had ſeen a little further into Affairs, and particularly till we had ſeen the *Swediſh* Army, which we had heard ſo much of.

The Difficulties which the Elector Duke of *Saxony* made of joining with the King were made up by a Treaty concluded with the King on the 2d of *September* at *Coſwig*, a ſmall Town on the *Elbe*, whither the King's Army was arrived the Night before; for General *Tilly* being now entered into the Duke's Country, had plundered and ruined all the lower part of it, and was now actually beſieging the Capital City of *Leipſick*. Theſe Neceſſities made almoſt any Conditions eaſy to him, the greateſt Difficulty was that the King of *Sweden* demanded the abſolute Command of the Army, which the Duke ſubmitted to with leſs good Will than he had Reaſon to do, the King's Experience and Conduct conſidered.

I had not Patience to attend the Concluſions of their particular Treaties, but as ſoon as ever the Paſſage was clear I quitted the *Saxon* Camp,

and went to ſee the *Swediſh* Army: I fell in with the Out-guards of the *Swedes* at a little Town called *Beltſig*, on the River *Werſa*, juſt as they were relieving the Guards, and going to march, and having a Paſs from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was very well received by the Officer who changed the Guards, and with him I went back into the Army; by nine in the Morning the Army was in full March, the King himſelf at the Head of them on a gray Pad, and riding from one Brigade to another, ordered the March of every Line himſelf.

When I ſaw the *Swediſh* Troops, their exact Diſcipline, their Order, the Modeſty and Familiarity of their Officers, and the regular living of the Soldiers, their Camp ſeemed a well ordered City; the meaneſt Country Woman with her *Market Ware* was as ſafe from Violence as in the Streets of *Vienna*: There was no Regiments of Whores and Rags as followed the *Imperialiſts*; nor any Women in the Camp, but ſuch as being known to the Provoſts to be the Wives of the Soldiers, who were neceſſary for waſhing Linen, taking Care of the Soldiers Cloaths, and dreſſing their Victuals.

The Soldiers were well clad, not gay, furniſhed with excellent Arms, and exceeding careful of them; and though they did not ſeem ſo terrible as I thought *Tilly*'s Men did when I firſt ſaw them, yet the Figure they made, together with what we had heard of them, made them ſeem to me invincible: The Diſcipline and Order of their Marchings, Camping and Exerciſe was excellent and ſingular, and which was to be ſeen in no Armies but the King's, his own Skill, Judgment and Vigilance having added much to the general Conduct of Armies then in uſe.

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As I met the *Swedes* on their March I had no Opportunity to acquaint my ſelf with any Body 'till after the Conjunction of the *Saxon* Army, and then it being but four Days to the great Battle of *Leipſick*, our Acquaintance was but ſmall, ſaving what fell out accidentally by Converſation.

I met with ſeveral Gentlemen in the King's Army who ſpoke *Engliſh* very well, beſides that there were 3 Regiments of *Scots* in the Army, the Collonels whereof I found were extraordinarily eſteemed by the King, as the Lord *Rea*, Collonel *Lumſdell*, and Sir *John Hepburn*: The latter of theſe, after I had by an Accident become acquainted with, I found had been for many Years acquainted with my Father, and on that Account I received a great deal of Civility from him, which afterwards grew into a kind of intimate Friendſhip; he was a compleat Soldier indeed, and for that Reaſon ſo well beloved by that gallant King, that he hardly knew how to go about any great Action without him.

It was impoſſible for me now to reſtrain my young Comrade from entring into the *Swediſh* Service, and indeed every Thing was ſo inviting that I could not blame him. A Captain in Sir *John Hepburn*'s Regiment had picked Acquaintance with him, and he having as much Gallantry in his Face as real Courage in his Heart, the Captain had perſuaded him to take Service, and promiſed to uſe his Intereſt to get him a Company in the *Scotch* Brigade. I had made him promiſe me not to part from me in my Travels without my Conſent, which was the only Obſtacle to his Deſires of entring in the *Swediſh* Pay; and being one Evening in the Captain's Tent with him, and diſcourſing very freely

ly together, the Captain asked him very ſhort but friendly, and looking earneſtly at me, *Is this the Gentleman, Mr.* Fielding, *that has done ſo much Prejudice to the King of* Sweden's *Service?* I was doubly ſurprized at the Expreſſion, and at the Collonel, Sir *John Hepburn*, coming at that very Moment into the Tent; the Collonel hearing ſomething of the Queſtion, but knowing nothing of the Reaſon of it, any more than as I ſeemed a little to concern my ſelf at it; yet after the Ceremony due to his Character was over, would needs know what I had done to hinder his Majeſty's Service. *So much truly*, ſays the Captain, *that if his Majeſty knew it he would think himſelf very little beholding to him. I am ſorry, Sir*, ſays I, *that I ſhould offend in any Thing, who am but a Stranger; but if you would pleaſe to inform me, I would endeavour to alter any Thing in my Behaviour that is prejudicial to any one, much leſs to his Majeſty's Service. I ſhall take you at your Word, Sir*, ſays the Captain; *the King of* Sweden, *Sir, has a particular Requeſt to you. I ſhould be glad to know two Things, Sir*, ſaid I, *Firſt, How that can be poſſible, ſince I am not known yet to any Man in the Army, much leſs to his Majeſty? And, Secondly, What the Requeſt can be? Why, Sir, his Majeſty deſires you would not hinder this Gentleman from entring into his Service, who it ſeems deſires nothing more, if he may have your Conſent to it. I have too much Honour for his Majeſty*, return'd I, *to deny any Thing which he pleaſes to command me; but methinks 'tis ſome Hardſhip, you ſhould make that the King's Order, which 'tis very probable he knows nothing of.* Sir *John Hepburn* took the Caſe up ſomething gravely, and drinking a Glaſs of *Leipſick* Beer to the Captain, ſaid, *Come, Captain, don't preſs theſe Gentlemen; the King deſires no Man's Service but what is purely Voluntier.* So we entred into other Diſcourſe, and

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the Collonel perceiving by my Talk that I had ſeen *Tilly*'s Army, was mighty curious in his Queſtions, and ſeemed very well ſatisfied with the Account I gave him.

The next Day the Army having paſs'd the *Elbe* at *Wittemberg*, and joyn'd the *Saxon* Army near *Torgau* his Majeſty cauſed both Armies to draw up in Battalia, giving every Brigade the ſame Poſt in the Lines as he purpoſed to fight in: I muſt do the Memory of that glorious General this Honour, that I never ſaw an Army drawn up with ſo much Variety, Order, and exact Regularity ſince, tho' I have ſeen many Armies drawn up by ſome of the greateſt Captains of the Age; the Order by which his Men were directed to flank and relieve one another, the Methods of receiving one Body of Men if diſordered into another, and rallying one Squadron, without diſordering another was ſo admirable; the Horſe every where flank'd, lin'd and defended by the Foot, and the Foot by the Horſe, and both by the Cannon, was ſuch, that if thoſe Orders were but as punctually obey'd, 'twere impoſſible to put an Army ſo modell'd into any Confuſion.

The View being over, and the Troops return'd to their Camps, the Captain with whom we drank the Day before meeting me, told me I muſt come and ſup with him in his Tent, where he would ask my Pardon for the Affront he gave me before. I told him he needed not put himſelf to the Trouble; I was not affronted at all, that I would do my ſelf the Honour to wait on him, provided he wou'd give me his Word not to ſpeak any more of it as an Affront.

We had not been a quarter of an Hour in his Tent but Sir *John Hepburn* came in again, and addreſſing to me, told me he was glad to find me there; that he came to the Captain's Tent to enquire

quire how to ſend to me; and that I muſt do him the Honour to go with him to wait on the King, who had a Mind to hear the Account I could give him of the *Imperial* Army from my own Mouth. I muſt confeſs I was at ſome Loſs in my Mind how to make my Addreſs to his Majeſty; but I had heard ſo much of the converſible Temper of the King, and his particular Sweetneſs of Humour with the meaneſt Soldier, that I made no more Difficulty, but having paid my Reſpects to Collonel *Hepburn*, thank'd him for the Honour he had done me, and offer'd to riſe and wait upon him: Nay, ſays the Collonel, we will eat firſt, for I find *Gourdon*, which was the Captain's Name, has got ſomething for Supper, and the King's Order is at ſeven a Clock: So we went to Supper, and Sir *John* becoming very friendly, muſt know my Name; which, when I had told him, and of what Place and Family, he roſe from his Seat and embracing me, told me he knew my Father very well, and had been intimately acquainted with him; and told me ſeveral Paſſages wherein my Father had particularly obliged him. After this we went to Supper, and the King's Health being drank round, the Collonel moved the ſooner becauſe he had a Mind to talk with me; when we were going to the King, he enquired of me where I had been, and what Occaſion brought me to the Army. I told him the ſhort Hiſtory of my Travels, and that I came hither from *Vienna* on purpoſe to ſee the King of *Sweden* and his Army; he ask'd me if there was any Service he could do me, by which he meant, whether I deſired an Employment; I pretended not to take him ſo, but told him the Protection his Acquaintance would afford me was more than I could have ask'd, ſince I might thereby have Opportunity to ſatisfie my

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Curioſity, which was the chief End of my coming abroad. He perceiving by this that I had no Mind to be a Soldier, told me very kindly I ſhould command him in any thing; that his Tent and Equipage, Horſes and Servants ſhould always have Orders to be at my Service: But that as a Piece of Friendſhip, he would adviſe me to retire to ſome Place diſtant from the Army, for that the Army wou'd march to morrow, and the King was reſolved to fight General *Tilly*, and he wou'd not have me hazard my ſelf; that if I thought fit to take his Advice, he wou'd have me take that Interval to ſee the Court at *Berlin*, whither he would ſend one of his Servants to wait on me: His Diſcourſe was too kind not to extort the tendereſt Acknowledgment from me that I was capable of; I told him his Care of me was ſo obliging, that I knew not what Return to make him, but if he pleaſed to leave me to my Choice I deſired no greater Favour than to trail a Pike under his Command in the enſuing Battle. I can never anſwer it to your Father, ſays he, to ſuffer you to expoſe your ſelf ſo far. I told him my Father would certainly acknowledge his Friendſhip in the Propoſal made me; but I believ'd he knew him better than to think he wou'd be well pleas'd with me if I ſhould accept of it; that I was ſure my Father would have rod Poſt 500 Miles to have been at ſuch a Battle under ſuch a General, and it ſhould never be told him that his Son had rod 50 Miles to be out of it: He ſeem'd to be ſomething concern'd at the Reſolution I had taken, and replied very quickly upon me, that he approved very well of my Courage; but, ſays he, no Man gets any Credit by running upon needleſs Adventures, nor loſes any by ſhunning Hazards which he has no Order for. 'Tis enough,

ſays

ſays he, for a Gentleman to behave well when he is commanded upon any Service; I have had fighting enough, ſays he, upon theſe Points of Honour, and I never got any thing but Reproof for it from the King himſelf. Well, Sir, ſaid I, however if a Man expects to riſe by his Valour, he muſt ſhew it ſomewhere; and if I were to have any Command in an Army, I wou'd firſt try whether I could deſerve it; I have never yet ſeen any Service, and muſt have my Induction ſome time or other: I ſhall never have a better Schoolmaſter than your ſelf, nor a better School than ſuch an Army. Well, ſays Sir *John*, but you may have the ſame School and the ſame teaching after this Battle is over; for I muſt tell you before-hand, this will be a bloody Touch; *Tilly* has a great Army of old Lads that are uſed to boxing; Fellows with Iron Faces, and 'tis a little too much to engage ſo hotly the firſt Entrance into the Wars: You may ſee our Diſcipline this Winter, and make your Campaign with us next Summer, when you need not fear but we ſhall have fighting enough, and you will be better acquainted with Things: We do never put our common Soldiers upon Pitcht Battles the firſt Campaign, but place our new Men in Garriſons and try them in Parties firſt. Sir, ſaid I with a little more Freedom, I believe I ſhall not make a Trade of the War, and therefore need not ſerve an Apprenticeſhip to it: 'Tis a hard Battle where none eſcapes: If I come off, I hope I ſhall not diſgrace you, and if not, 'twill be ſome Satisfaction to my Father to hear his Son died fighting, under the Command of Sir *John Hepburn* in the Army of the King of *Sweden*, and I deſire no better Epitaph upon my Tomb. Well, ſays Sir *John*, and by this time we were juſt come to the King's Quarters, and the Guards calling to us interrupted

terrupted his Reply; ſo we went into the Court Yard where the King was lodg'd, which was in an indifferent Houſe of one of the Burghers of *Debien*, and Sir *John* ſtepping up, met the King coming down ſome Steps into a large Room which looked over the Town-Wall into a Field where Part of the Artillery was drawn up. Sir *John Hepburn* ſent his Man preſently to me to come up, which I did; and Sir *John* without any Ceremony carries me directly up to the King, who was leaning on his Elbow in the Window: The King turning about, this is the *Engliſh* Gentleman, ſays Sir *John*, who I told your Majeſty had been in the *Imperial* Army. How then did he get hither, ſays the King, without being taken by the Scouts? At which Queſtion Sir *John* ſaying nothing; By a Paſs, and pleaſe your Majeſty, from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Secretary at *Vienna*, ſaid I, making a profound Reverence. Have you then been at *Vienna*, ſays the King? Yes, and pleaſe your Majeſty, ſaid I; upon which the King folding up a Letter he had in his Hand, ſeemed much more earneſt to talk about *Vienna*, than about *Tilly*: And pray what News had you at *Vienna*? Nothing, Sir, ſaid I, but daily Accounts one in the Neck of another of their own Misfortunes, and your Majeſty's Conqueſts, which makes a very melancholy Court there. But pray, ſaid the King, what is the common Opinion there about theſe Affairs? The common People are terrified to the laſt Degree, ſaid I, and when your Majeſty took *Frankfort* upon *Oder*, if your Army had march'd but 20 Miles into *Sileſia*, half the People wou'd have run out of *Vienna*, and I left them fortifying the City. They need not, reply'd the King ſmiling, I have no Deſign to trouble them, 'tis the Proteſtant Countries I muſt be for: Upon this the Duke

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of *Saxony* entred the Room, and finding the King engag'd, offer'd to retire; but the King beckoning with his Hand call'd to him in *French*, Couſin, ſays the King, this Gentleman has been travelling and comes from *Vienna*, and ſo made me repeat what I had ſaid before; at which the King went on with me, and Sir *John Hepburn* informing his Majeſty that I ſpoke high *Dutch*, he changed his Language, and ask'd me in *Dutch* where it was that I ſaw General *Tilly*'s Army; I told his Majeſty at the Siege of *Magdeburgh*. At *Magdeburgh*! ſaid the King ſhaking his Head, *Tilly* muſt anſwer to me one Day for that *City*, and if not to me to a greater King than I: Can you gueſs what Army he had with him, ſaid the King? He had two Armies with him, ſaid I, but one I ſuppoſe will do your Majeſty no harm: Two Armies! ſaid the King. Yes Sir, he has one Army of about 26000 Men, ſaid I, and another of above 15000 Whores and their Attendants; at which the King laughed heartily; Ay, ay, ſays the King, thoſe 15000 do us as much Harm as the 26000; for they eat up the Country, and devour the poor Proteſtants more than the Men: Well, ſays the King, do they talk of fighting us? They talk big enough, Sir, ſaid I, but your Majeſty has not been ſo often fought with as beaten in their Diſcourſe. I know not for the Men, ſays the King, but the old Man is as likely to do it as talk of it, and I hope to try them in a Day or two: The King enquired after that, ſeveral Matters of me about the *Low Countries*, the Prince of *Orange*, and of the Court and Affairs in *England*; and Sir *John Hepburn* informing his Majeſty that I was the Son of an *Engliſh* Gentleman of his Acquaintance, the King had the Goodneſs to ask him what Care he had taken of me againſt the

Day

Day of Battle. Upon which Sir *John* repeated to him the Diſcourſe we had together by the Way; the King ſeeming particularly pleaſed with it, began to take me to Task himſelf: You *Engliſh* Gentlemen, ſays he, are too forward in the Wars, which makes you leave them too ſoon again. Your Majeſty, reply'd I, makes War in ſo pleaſant a Manner, as makes all the World fond of fighting under your Conduct. Not ſo pleaſant neither, ſays the King, here's a Man can tell you that ſometimes 'tis not very pleaſant. I know not much of the Warrior, Sir, ſaid I, nor of the World, but if always to conquer be the Pleaſure of the War, your Majeſty's Soldiers have all that can be deſired. Well, ſays the King, but however conſidering all Things, I think you would do well to take the Advice Sir *John Hepburn* has given you. Your Majeſty may command me to any Thing, but where your Majeſty and ſo many gallant Gentleman hazard their Lives, mine is not worth mentioning; and I ſhould not dare to tell my Father at my return into *England* that I was in your Majeſty's Army, and made ſo mean a Figure that your Majeſty would not permit me to fight under that Royal Standard. Nay, replied the King, I lay no Commands upon you, but you are young. I can never dye, Sir, ſaid I, with more Honour than in your Majeſty's Service; I ſpake this with ſo much Freedom, and his Majeſty was ſo pleaſed with it, that he asked me how I would chooſe to ſerve, on Horſeback or on Foot; I told his Majeſty I ſhould be glad to receive any of his Majeſty's Commands, but if I had not that Honour I had purpos'd to trail a Pike under Sir *John Hepburn*, who had done me ſo much Honour as to introduce me into his Majeſty's Preſence. Do ſo then, reply'd the King, and turning to Sir *John Hepburn*,

ſaid, and pray do you take Care of him; at which overcome with the Goodneſs of his Diſcourſe I could not anſwer a Word, but made him a profound Reverence and retired.

The next Day but one, being the Seventh of *September*, before Day the Army march'd from *Dieben* to a large Field about a Mile from *Leipſick*, where we found *Tilly*'s Army in full Battalia in admirable Order, which made a ſhew both glorious and terrible. *Tilly*, like a fair Gamſter, had taken up but one Side of the Plain, and left the other free, and all the Avenues open for the King's Army; nor did he ſtir to the Charge 'till the King's Army was compleatly drawn up and advanced towards him: He had in his Army 44000 old Soldiers, every Way anſwerable to what I have ſaid of them before; and I ſhall only add, a better Army I believe never was ſo ſoundly beaten.

The King was not much inferior in Force, being joined with the *Saxons*, who were reckoned 22000 Men, and who drew up on the Left, making a main Battle and two Wings, as the King did on the Right.

The King placed himſelf at the right Wing of his own Horſe; *Guſtavus Horn* had the main Battle of the *Swedes*, the Duke of *Saxony* had the main Battle of his own Troops, and General *Arnheim* the right Wing of his Horſe.

The ſecond Line of the *Swedes* conſiſted of the two *Scotch* Brigades, and three *Swediſh*, with the *Finland* Horſe in the Wings.

In the beginning of the Fight, *Tilly*'s right Wing charg'd with ſuch irreſiſtible Fury upon the Left of the King's Army where the *Saxons* were poſted, that nothing could withſtand them; the *Saxons* fled amain, and ſome of them carried the News over

over the Country that all was loſt, and the King's Army overthrown; and indeed it paſſed for an Overſight with ſome, that the King did not place ſome of his old Troops among the *Saxons* who were new raiſed Men; the *Saxons* loſt here near 2000 Men, and hardly ever ſhew'd their Faces again all the Battle, except ſome few of their Horſe.

I was poſted with my Comrade, the Captain, at the Head of three *Scottiſh* Regiments of Foot, commanded by Sir *John Hepburn*, with expreſs Directions from the Collonel to keep by him: Our Poſt was in the ſecond Line, as a Reſerve to the King of *Sweden*'s main Battle, and which was ſtrange, the main Battle, which conſiſted of four great Brigades of Foot, were never charged during the whole Fight; and yet we, who had the Reſerve, were obliged to endure the whole Weight of the *Imperial* Army; the Occaſion was, the right Wing of the *Imperialiſts* having defeated the *Saxons*, and being eager in the Chace, *Tilly*, who was an old Soldier, and ready to prevent all Miſtakes, forbids any Purſuit; let them go, ſays he, but let us beat the *Swedes*, or we do nothing. Upon this the victorious Troops fall in upon the Flank of the King's Army, which the *Saxons* being fled lay open to them; *Guſtavus Horn* commanded the left Wing of the *Swedes*, and having firſt defeated ſome Regiments which charged him, falls in upon the Rear of the *Imperial* right Wing, and ſeparates them from the Van, who were advanced a great Way forward in purſuit of the *Saxons*; and having routed the ſaid Rear or Reſerve, falls on upon *Tilly*'s main Battle, and defeated Part of them, the other Part was gone in Chaſe of the *Saxons*, and now alſo returned, fell in upon the Rear of the left Wing of the *Swedes*, charging them in the Flank; for they drew

up upon the very Ground which the *Saxons* had quitted. This changed the whole Front, and made the *Swedes* face about to the Left, and make a great Front on their Flank to make this good; our Brigades, who were placed as a Reserve for the main Battle, were by special Order from the King, wheeled about to the Left, and placed for the Right of this new Front to charge the *Imperialists*; they were about 12 Thousand of their best Foot, besides Horse; and flusht with the Execution of the *Saxons*, fell on like Furies: The King by this time had almost defeated the *Imperialist*'s left Wing; their Horse with more Haste than good Speed, had charged faster than their Foot could follow, and having broke into the King's first Line, he let them go; where, while the second Line bears the Shock, and bravely resisted them; the King follows them on the Crupper with 13 Troops of Horse, and some Musqueteers, by which being hemm'd in, they were all cut down in a Moment as it were, and the Army never disordered with them. This fatal Blow to the left Wing, gave the King more Leisure to defeat the Foot which followed, and to send some Assistance to *Gustavus Horn* in his left Wing, who had his Hands full with the main Battle of the *Imperialists*.

But those Troops who, as I said, had routed the *Saxons*, being called off from the Pursuit, had charged our Flank, and were now grown very strong, renewed the Battle in a terrible Manner: Here it was I saw our Men go to Wrack; Collonel *Hall*, a brave Soldier, commanded the Rear of the *Swedes* left Wing; he fought like a Lion, but was slain, and most of his Regiment cut off, tho' not unrevenged; for they entirely ruined *Furstemberg*'s Regiment of Foot: Collonel *Cullembach* with his Regiment of Horse, was extreamly overlaid

laid alſo, and the Collonel and many brave Officers killed, and in ſhort all that Wing was ſhattered, and in an ill Condition.

In this Juncture came the King, and having ſeen what Havock the Enemy made of *Cullembach*'s Troops, he comes riding along the Front of our three Brigades, and himſelf led us on to the Charge; the Collonel of his Guards, the Baron *Dyvel*, was ſhot dead juſt as the King had given him ſome Orders: When the *Scots* advanced, ſeconded by ſome Regiments of Horſe which the King alſo ſent to the Charge, the bloodieſt Fight began that ever Man beheld, for the *Scotiſh* Brigades giving Fire three Ranks at a Time over one anothers Heads, pour'd in their Shot ſo thick, that the Enemy were cut down like Graſs before a Scyth; and following into the thickeſt of their Foot with the Clubs of their Muſquets, made a moſt dreadful Slaughter, and yet was there no flying; *Tilly*'s Men might be killed and knocked down, but no Man turned his Back, nor would give an Inch of Ground, but as they were wheel'd, or marched, or retreated by their Officers.

There was a Regiment of Cuiraſſiers, which ſtood whole to the laſt, and fought like Lions, they went ranging over the Field when all their Army was broken, and no Body cared for charging them; they were commanded by Baron *Cronenburgh*, and at laſt went off from the Battle whole. Theſe were armed in black Armour from Head to Foot, and they carried off their General; about Six a Clock the Field was cleared of the Enemy, except at one Place on the King's Side, where ſome of them rallied, and though they knew all was loſt would take no Quarter, but fought it out to the laſt Man, being found

dead the next Day in Rank and File as they were drawn up.

I had the good Fortune to receive no Hurt in this Battle, excepting a ſmall Scratch on the ſide of my Neck by the puſh of a Pike; but my Friend received a very dangerous Wound when the Battle was as good as over; he had engaged with a *German* Collonel whoſe Name we could never learn, and having killed his Man, and preſſed very cloſe upon him ſo that he had ſhot his Horſe, the Horſe in the fall kept the Collonel down, lying on one of his Legs, upon which he demanded Quarter, which Captain *Feilding* granting, helped him to quit his Horſe, and having diſarmed him, was bringing him into the Line, when the Regiment of Cuiraſſiers, which I mentioned, commanded by Baron *Cronenburgh*, came roving over the Field, and with a flying Charge ſaluted our Front with a Salvo of Carabin-ſhot, which wounded us a great many Men, and among the reſt the Captain received a Shot in his Thigh, which laid him on the Ground, and being ſeparated from the Line, his Priſoner got away with them.

This was the firſt Service I was in, and indeed I never ſaw any Fight ſince maintained with ſuch Gallantry, ſuch deſperate Valour, together with ſuch Dexterity of Management, both Sides being compoſed of Soldiers fully tried, bred to the Wars, expert in every Thing, exact in their Order, and uncapable of Fear, which made the Battle be much more bloody than uſual. Sir *John Hepburn*, at my Requeſt, took particular Care of my Comrade, and ſent his own Surgeon to look after him; and afterwards when the City of *Leipſick* was retaken, provided him Lodgings there,

there, and came very often to ſee him; and indeed I was in great Care for him too, the Surgeons being very doubtful of him a great while; for having lain in the Field all Night among the Dead, his Wound, for want of dreſſing, and with the Extremity of Cold, was in a very ill Condition, and the Pain of it had thrown him into a Fever. 'Twas quite duſk before the Fight ended, eſpecially where the laſt rallied Troops fought ſo long, and therefore we durſt not break our Order to ſeek out our Friends, ſo that 'twas near ſeven o' Clock the next Morning before we found the Captain, who though very weak by the loſs of Blood, had raiſed himſelf up, and placed his Back againſt the Buttock of a dead Horſe; I was the firſt that knew him, and running to him, embraced him with a great deal of Joy: He was not able to ſpeak, but made Signs to let me ſee he knew me, ſo we brought him into the Camp, and Sir *John Hepburn*, as I noted before, ſent his own Surgeons to look after him.

The Darkneſs o' the Night prevented any Purſuit, and was the only Refuge the Enemy had left; for had there been three Hours more Day-light, ten Thouſand more Lives had been loſt, for the *Swedes* (and *Saxons* eſpecially) enraged by the Obſtinacy of the Enemy, were ſo throughly heated that they would have given Quarter but to few; the Retreat was not ſounded 'till ſeven o' Clock, when the King drew up the whole Army upon the Field of Battle, and gave ſtrict Command that none ſhould ſtir from their Order; ſo the Army lay under their Arms all Night, which was another reaſon why the wounded Soldiers ſuffered very much by the Cold; for the King, who had a bold Enemy to deal with, was not ignorant what a ſmall Body of deſpe-

rate Men rallied together might have done in the Darkneſs of the Night, and therefore he lay in his Coach all Night at the Head of the Line, though it froze very hard.

As ſoon as the Day began to peep the Trumpets ſounded to Horſe, and all the Dragoons and Light Horſe in the Army were commanded to the Purſuit; the Cuiraſſiers and ſome commanded Muſqueteers advanced ſome Miles, if need were, to make good their Retreat, and all the Foot ſtood to their Arms for a Reſerve; but in half an Hour Word was brought to the King, that the Enemy was quite diſperſed, upon which Detachments were made out of every Regiment to ſearch among the Dead for any of our Friends that were wounded; and the King himſelf gave a ſtrict Order, that if any were found wounded and alive among the Enemy none ſhould kill them, but take Care to bring them into the Camp: A Piece of Humanity which ſaved the Lives of near a Thouſand of the Enemies.

This Piece of Service being over, the Enemy's Camp was ſeized upon, and the Soldiers were permitted to plunder it; all the Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition was ſecured for the King's Uſe, the reſt was given up to the Soldiers, who found ſo much Plunder that they had no Reaſon to quarrel for Shares.

For my ſhare, I was ſo buſie with my wounded Captain that I got nothing but a Sword, which I found juſt by him when I firſt ſaw him; but my Man brought me a very good Horſe with a Furniture on him, and one Piſtol of extraordinary Workmanſhip.

I bad him get upon his Back and make the beſt of the Day for himſelf, which he did, and I ſaw him

him no more till three Days after, when he found me out at *Leipſick* ſo richly dreſſed that I hardly knew him; and after making his Excuſe for his long Abſence, gave me a very pleaſant Account where he had been: He told me, that according to my Order being mounted on the Horſe he had brought me, he firſt rid into the Field among the Dead, to get ſome Clothes ſuitable to the Equipage of his Horſe, and having ſeized on a laced Coat, a Helmet, a Sword, and an extraordinary good Cane, was reſolved to ſee what was become of the Enemy, and following the Track of the Dragoons, which he could eaſily do by the Bodies on the Road, he fell in with a ſmall Party of 25 Dragoons, under no Command but a Corporal, making to a Village where ſome of the Enemies Horſe had been quartered; the Dragoons taking him for an Officer by his Horſe, deſired him to command them, told him the Enemy was very rich, and they doubted not a good Booty: He was a bold brisk Fellow, and told them, with all his Heart; but ſaid he had but one Piſtol, the other being broke with firing, ſo they lent him a pair of Piſtols, and a ſmall Piece they had taken, and he led them on. There had been a Regiment of Horſe and ſome Troops of *Crabats* in the Village, but they were fled on the firſt Notice of the Purſuit, excepting three Troops, and theſe on Sight of this ſmall Party, ſuppoſing them to be only the firſt of a greater Number, fled in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable; they took the Village and about 50 Horſes, with all the Plunder of the Enemy, and with the Heat of the Service he had ſpoiled my Horſe, he ſaid, for which he had brought me two more; for he paſſing for the Commander of the Party, had all the Advantage

vantage the Cuſtom of War gives an Officer in like Caſes.

I was very well pleaſed with the Relation the Fellow gave me, and laughing at him, *Well, Captain*, ſaid I, *and what Plunder have ye got? Enough to make me a Captain, Sir*, ſays he, *if you pleaſe, and a Troop ready raiſed too*; *for the Party of Dragoons are poſted in the Village by my Command, till they have farther Orders.* In ſhort, he pulled out 60 or 70 Pieces of Gold, 5 or 6 Watches, 13 or 14 Rings, whereof 2 were diamond Rings, one of which was worth 50 Dollars; Silver as much as his Pockets would hold, beſides that he had brought three Horſes, two of which were laden with Baggage, and a Boor he had hired to ſtay with them at *Leipſick* till he had found me out. *But I am afraid Captain*, ſays I, *you have plundered the Village inſtead of plundering the Enemy. No indeed not we*, ſays he, *but the* Crabats *had done it for us, and we light of them juſt as they were carrying it off. Well*, ſaid I, *but what will you do with your Men*; *for when you come to give them Orders, they will know you well enough? No, no*, ſays he, *I took Care of that*; *for juſt now I gave a Soldier five Dollars to carry them News that the Army was marched to* Moersburgh, *and that they ſhould follow thither to the Regiment.*

Having ſecured his Money in my Lodgings, he asked me if I pleaſed to ſee his Horſes, and to have one for my ſelf? I told him I would go and ſee them in the Afternoon; but the Fellow being impatient goes and fetches them: There was three Horſes, one whereof was a very good one, and by the Furniture was an Officer's Horſe of the *Crabats*, and that my Man would have me accept, for the other he had ſpoiled, as he ſaid; I was but indifferently horſed before, ſo I accepted of the Horſe, and went down with him

to

to ſee the reſt of his Plunder there; he had got three or four pair of Piſtols, two or three Bundles of Officers Linen and Lace, a Field-Bed and a Tent, and ſeveral other Things of Value; but at laſt coming to a ſmall Fardel, and this, ſays he, I took whole from a *Crabat* running away with it under his Arm, ſo he brought it up into my Chamber; he had not looked into it, he ſaid, but he underſtood 'twas ſome Plunder the Soldiers had made, and finding it heavy took it by Conſent; we opened it and found 'twas a Bundle of ſome Linen, 13 or 14 Pieces of Plate, and in a ſmall Cup three Rings, a fine Necklace of Pearl, and the Value of 100 Rix-dollars in Money. The Fellow was amazed at his own good Fortune, and hardly knew what to do with himſelf: I bid him go take Care of his other Things, and of his Horſes, and come again; ſo he went and diſcharged the Boor that waited, and packed up all his Plunder, and came up to me in his old Clothes again. *How now, Captain*, ſays I, *what have you altered your Equipage already? I am no more aſhamed, Sir, of your Livery*, anſwered he, *than of your Service, and nevertheleſs your Servant for what I have got by it. Well*, ſays I to him, *but what will you do now with all your Money? I wiſh my poor Father had ſome of it*, ſays he, *and for the reſt I got it for you, Sir, and deſire you would take it.* He ſpoke it with ſo much Honeſty and Freedom that I could not but take it very kindly; but however, I told him I would not take a Farthing from him, as his Maſter; but I would have him play the good Husband with it now he had ſuch good Fortune to get it: He told me he would take my Directions in every Thing. *Why then*, ſays I, *I'll tell you what I would adviſe you to do, turn it all into ready Money, and convey it by*

Return

Return home into England, *and follow your ſelf the firſt Opportunity, and with good Management you may put your ſelf in a good Poſture of living with it.* The Fellow, with a ſort of Dejection in his Looks, asked me, if he had diſobliged me in any Thing? *Why*, ſays I: That I was willing to turn him out of his Service. *No*, George, (that was his Name) ſays I, *but you may live on this Money without being a Servant. I'd throw it all into the* Elbe, ſays he, *over* Torgaw *Bridge, rather than leave your Service; and beſides*, ſays he, *can't I ſave my Money without going from you? I got it in your Service, and I'll never ſpend it out of your Service, unleſs you put me away. I hope my Money won't make me the worſe Servant, if I thought it would, I'd ſoon have little enough. Nay*, George, ſays I, *I ſhall not oblige you to it, for I am not willing to loſe you neither: come then*, ſays I, *let us put it all together, and ſee what it 'twill come to.* So he laid it all together on the Table, and by our Computation he had gotten as much Plunder as was worth about 1400 Rix-dollars, beſides 3 Horſes with their Furniture, a Tent, a Bed, and ſome wearing Linen. Then he takes the Neck-lace of Pearl, a very good Watch, a Diamond Ring, and 100 Pieces of Gold, and lays them by themſelves, and having according to our beſt Calculation valued the Things, he put up all the reſt, and as I was going to ask him what they were left out for, he takes them up in his Hand, and coming round the Table, told me, that if I did not think him unworthy of my Service and Favour, he begged I would give him leave to make that Preſent to me; that it was my firſt thought, his going out; that he had got it all in my Service, and he ſhould think I had no Kindneſs for him if I ſhould refuſe it. I was reſolved in my Mind not to take it from him, and yet I could find no

Means

Means to reſiſt his Importunity; at laſt I told him, I would accept of Part of his Preſent, and that I eſteemed his Reſpect in that as much as the whole; and that I would not have him importune me farther, ſo I took the Ring and Watch with the Horſe and Furniture as before, and made him turn all the reſt into Money at *Leipſick*, and not ſuffering him to wear his Livery, made him put himſelf into a tolerable Equipage, and taking a young *Leipſicker* into my Service, he attended me as a Gentleman from that Time forward.

The King's Army never entred *Leipſick* but proceeded to *Moersburg*, and from thence to *Hall* and ſo marched on into *Franconia*, while the Duke of *Saxony* employed his Forces in recovering *Leipſick* and the driving the *Imperialiſts* out of his Country. I continued at *Leipſick* 12 Days, being not willing to leave my Comrade 'till he was recovered; but Sir *John Hepburn* ſo often importuned me to come into the Army, and ſent me Word that the King had very often enquired for me, that at laſt I conſented to go without him; ſo having made our Appointment where to meet and how to correſpond by Letters, I went to wait on Sir *John Hepburn*, who then lay with the King's Army at the City of *Erfurt* in *Saxony*. As I was riding between *Leipſick* and *Hall* I obſerved my Horſe went very aukwardly and uneaſy, and ſweat very much, though the Weather was cold, and we had rid but very ſoftly; I fancied therefore that the Saddle might hurt the Horſe, and calls my new Captain up; *George* ſay I, I believe this Saddle hurts the Horſe; ſo we alighted and looking under the Saddle found the Back of the Horſe extreamly galled; ſo I bid him take off the Saddle, which he did, and giving the Horſe to my young

young *Leipſicker* to lead, we ſat down to ſee if we could mend it, for there was no Town near us; Says *George*, pointing with his Finger, if you pleaſe to cut open the Pannel there, I'll get ſomething to ſtuff into it which will bear it from the Horſe's Back; ſo while he look'd for ſomething to thruſt in, I cut a Hole in the Pannel of the Saddle, and following it with my Finger I felt ſomething hard, which ſeemed to move up and down; again as I thruſt it with my Finger, here's ſomething that ſhould not be here, ſays I, not yet imagining what afterwards fell out, and calling, run back, bad him put up his Finger; whatever 'tis, ſays he, 'tis this hurts the Horſe, for it bears juſt on his Back when the Saddle is ſet on; ſo we ſtrove to take hold on it, but could not reach it; at laſt we took the upper Part of the Saddle quite from the Pannel, and there lay a ſmall Silk Purſe wrapt in a Piece of Leather, and full of Gold Ducats; thou art born to be rich, *George*, ſays I to him, here's more Money, we opened the Purſe and found in it 438 ſmall Pieces of Gold, there I had a new Skirmiſh with him whoſe the Money ſhould be; I told him 'twas his, he told me no, I had accepted of the Horſe and Furniture and all that was about him was mine, and ſolemnly vow'd he wou'd not have a Penny of it: I ſaw no Remedy but put up the Money for the Preſent, mended our Saddle, and went on; we lay that Night at *Hall*, and having had ſuch a Booty in the Saddle, I made him ſearch the Saddles of the other two Horſes; in one of which, we found Three *French* Crowns, but nothing in the other.

We arrived at *Erfurt* the 28th of *September*, but the Army was removed, and entred into *Franconia*, and at the Siege of *Koningſhoven* we came up with them. The firſt thing I did, was to pay my Civilities

Civilities to Sir *John Hepburn*, who received me very kindly, but told me withal, that I had not done well to be ſo long from him; that the King had particularly enquired for me, had commanded him to bring me to him at my return: I told him the Reaſon of my Stay at *Leipſick*, and how I had left that Place and my Comrade, before he was cured of his Wounds, to wait on him according to his Letters. He told me the King had ſpoken ſome Things very obliging about me, and he believed would offer me ſome Command in the Army, if I thought well to accept of it; I told him I had promiſed my Father not to take Service in an Army without his Leave; and yet if his Majeſty ſhould offer it, I neither knew how to reſiſt it, nor had I an Inclination to any thing more than the Service, and ſuch a Leader; tho' I had much rather have ſerv'd as a Volunteer at my own Charge, (which as he knew was the Cuſtom of our *Engliſh* Gentlemen) than in any Command. He replied, do as you think fit; but ſome Gentlemen would give 20000 Crowns to ſtand ſo fair for Advancement as you do.

The Town of *Koningſhoven* capitulated that Day, and Sir *John* was ordered to treat with the Citizens, ſo I had no farther Diſcourſe with him then; and the Town being taken, the Army immediately advanced down the River *Main*, for the King had his Eye upon *Frankford* and *Mentz*, two great Cities, both which he ſoon became Maſter of, chiefly by the prodigious Expedition of his March; For within a Month after the Battle, he was in the lower Parts of the Empire, and had paſſed from the *Elb* to the *Rhine*, an incredible Conqueſt; had taken all the Strong Cities, the Biſhopricks of *Bambergh*, of *Wirtsburgh*, and almoſt all the Circle of *Franconia*, with Part of *Schawberland*;

land; a Conqueſt large enough to be ſeven Year a making by the common Courſe of Arms.

Buſineſs going on thus, the King had not Leiſure to think of ſmall Matters, and I being not thoroughly reſolved in my Mind, did not preſs Sir *John* to introduce me; I had wrote to my Father with an Account of my Reception in the Army, the Civilities of Sir *John Hepburn*, the Particulars of the Battle, and had indeed preſs'd him to give me Leave to ſerve the King of *Sweden*: To which Particular I waited for an Anſwer, but the following Occaſion determined me before an Anſwer cou'd poſſibly reach me.

The King was before the Strong Caſtle of *Marienburgh*, which commands the City of *Wurtsburgh*; he had taken the *City*, but the Garriſon and richer Part of the Burghers were retir'd into the Caſtle, and truſting to the Strength of the Place, which was thought impregnable, they bad the *Swedes* do their worſt; 'twas well provided with all Things, and a ſtrong Garriſon in it; ſo that the Army indeed expected 'twould be a long Piece of Work. The Caſtle ſtood on a high Rock, and on the Steep of the Rock was a Baſtion, which defended the only Paſſage up the Hill into the Caſtle; the *Scots* were choſe out to make this attack, and the King was an Eye Witneſs of their Gallantry: In the Action Sir *John* was not commanded out, but Sir *James Ramſey* led them on, but I obſerved that moſt of the *Scotch* Officers in the other Regiments prepared to ſerve as Volunteers for the Honour of their Countrymen, and Sir *John Hepburn* led them on: I was reſolved to ſee this Piece of Service, and therefore joined my ſelf to the Volunteers; we were armed with Partizans, and each Man two Piſtols at our Belt; it was a Piece of Service that ſeemed perfectly deſperate,

the

the Advantage of the Hill, the Precipice we were to mount, the height of the Baſtion, the reſolute Courage and Number of the Garriſon, who from a compleat Covert made a terrible Fire upon us, all joined to make the Action hopeleſs; but the Fury of the *Scots* Muſqueteers was not to be abated by any Difficulties; they mounted the Hill, ſcaled the Works like Madmen, running upon the Enemies Pikes, and after two Hour's deſperate Fight in the midſt of Fire and Smoke, took it by Storm, and put all the Garriſon to the Sword. The Voluntiers did their part, and had their Share of the Loſs too, for 13 or 14 were killed out of 37, beſides the wounded, among whom I received a Hurt more troubleſome than dangerous, by a Thruſt of a Halberd into my Arm, which proved a very painful Wound, and I was a great while before it was thoroughly recovered.

The King received us as we drew off at the Foot of the Hill, calling the Soldiers *his brave Scots*, and commending the Officers by Name. The next Morning the Caſtle was alſo taken by Storm, and the greateſt Booty that ever was found in any one Conqueſt in the whole War; the Soldiers got here ſo much Money that they knew not what to do with it and the Plunder they got here and at the Battle of *Leipſick* made them ſo unruly, that had not the King been the beſt Maſter of Diſcipline in the World they had never been kept in any reaſonable Bounds.

The King had taken Notice of our ſmall Party of Voluntiers, and though I thought he had not ſeen me, yet he ſent the next Morning for Sir *John Hepburn*, and asked him if I were not come to the Army? *Yes*, ſays Sir *John*, *he has been here two or three Days:* And as he was forming an Excuſe

for not having brought me to wait on his Majeſty, ſays the King interrupting him, *I wonder you would let him thruſt himſelf into ſuch a hot Piece of Service as ſtorming the* Port Graft: *Pray let him know I ſaw him, and have a very good Account of his Behaviour.* Sir *John* returned with this Account to me, and preſſed me to pay my Duty to his Majeſty the next Morning; and accordingly, though I had but an ill Night with the Pain of my Wound, I was with him at the Levee in the Caſtle.

I cannot but give ſome ſhort Account of the Glory of that Morning; the Caſtle had been cleared of the dead Bodies of the Enemies, and what was not pillaged by the Soldiers, was placed under a Guard. There was firſt a Magazine of very good Arms for about 18 or 20000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, a very good Train of Artillery of about 18 Pieces of Battery, 32 braſs Field-pieces and four Mortars. The Biſhop's Treaſure, and other publick Monies not plundered by the Soldiers, was telling out by the Officers, and amounted to 400000 Florins in Money; and the Burghers of the Town in ſolemn Proceſſion, bareheaded, brought the King three Tun of Gold as a Compoſition to exempt the City from Plunder. Here was alſo a Stable of gallant Horſes which the King had the Curioſity to go and ſee.

When the Ceremony of the Burghers was over the King came down into the Caſtle Court, walked on the Parade (where the great Train of Artillery was placed on their Carriages) and round the Walls, and gave Order for repairing the Baſtion that was ſtormed by the *Scots*; and as at the Entrance of the Parade Sir *John Hepburn* and I made our Reverence to the King, *Ho, Cavalier,*

ſaid

ſaid the King to me, *I am glad to ſee you*, and ſo paſſed forward; I made my bow very low, but his Majeſty ſaid no more at that Time.

When the View was over the King went up into the Lodgings, and Sir *John* and I walked in an Anti-Chamber for about a Quarter of an Hour, when one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber came out to Sir *John*, and told him the King ask'd for him; he ſtaid but a little with the King and came out to me, and told me the King had ordered him to bring me to him.

His Majeſty, with a Countenance full of Honour and Goodneſs interrupted my Compliment, and asked me how I did; at which anſwering only with a bow, ſays the King, *I am ſorry to ſee you are hurt, I would have laid my Commands on you not to have ſhewn your ſelf in ſo ſharp a Piece of Service, if I had known you had been in the Camp. Your Majeſty does me too much Honour*, ſaid I, *in your Care of a Life that has yet done nothing to deſerve your Favour.* His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay ſomething very kind to me relating to my Behaviour in the Battle of *Leipſick*, which I have not Vanity enough to write; at the Concluſion whereof, when I replyed very humbly, that I was not ſenſible that any Service I had done or could do could poſſibly merit ſo much Goodneſs; he told me he had ordered me a ſmall Teſtimony of his Eſteem, and withal gave me his Hand to kiſs: I was now conquered, and with a ſort of Surprize, told his Majeſty, I found my ſelf ſo much engaged by his Goodneſs, as well as my own Inclination, that if his Majeſty would pleaſe to accept of my Devoir I was reſolved to ſerve in his Army, or whereever he pleaſed to command me. *Serve me*, ſays the King, *why ſo you do, but I muſt not have you be a Musketeer; a poor Soldier at a Dollar a Week will do*

that. Pray, Sir John, ſays the King, give him what Commiſſion he deſires. No Commiſſion, Sir, ſays I, *would pleaſe me better than Leave to fight near your Majeſty's Perſon, and to ſerve you at my own Charge till I am qualified by more Experience to receive your Commands. Why then it ſhall be ſo,* ſaid the King, *and I charge you,* Hepburn, ſays he, *when any Thing offers that is either fit for him, or he deſires, that you tell me of it,* and giving me his Hand again to kiſs I withdrew.

I was followed before I had paſſed the Caſtle-Court by one of the King's Pages, who brought me a Warrant directed to Sir *John Hepburn* to go to the Maſter of the Horſe for an immediate delivery of Things ordered by the King himſelf for my Account, where being come, the Querry produced me a very good Coach with four Horſes, Harneſs and Equipage, and two very fine Saddle-Horſes out of the Stable of the Biſhop's Horſes, afore-mentioned; with theſe there was a Liſt for three Servants, and a Warrant to the Steward of the King's Baggage to defray me, my Horſes and Servants at the King's Charge till farther Order. I was very much at a Loſs how to manage my ſelf in this ſo ſtrange freedom of ſo great a Prince, and conſulting with Sir *John Hepburn*, I was propoſing to him whether it was not proper to go immediately back to pay my Duty to his Majeſty and acknowledge his Bounty in the beſt Terms I could; but while we were reſolving to do ſo, the Guards ſtood to their Arms, and we ſaw the King go out at the Gate in his Coach to paſs into the City, ſo we were diverted from it for that Time. I acknowledge the Bounty of the King was very ſurpriſing, but I muſt ſay it was not ſo very ſtrange to me when I afterward ſaw the Courſe of his Management;

Bounty

Bounty in him was his natural Talent, but he never diſtributed his Favours but where he thought himſelf both loved and faithfully ſerved, and when he was ſo, even the ſingle Actions of his private Soldiers he would take particular Notice of himſelf, and publickly own, acknowledge and reward them, of which I am obliged to give ſome Inſtances.

A private Muſqueteer at the ſtorming the Caſtle of *Wurtzberg*, when all the Detachment was beaten off ſtood in the Face of the Enemy, and fired his Piece, and though he had 1000 ſhot made at him, ſtood uuconcerned, and charged his Piece again, and let fly at the Enemy, continuing to do ſo three Times, at the ſame Time beckoning with his Hand to his Fellows to come on again, which they did, animated by his Example, and carried the place for the King.

When the Town was taken the King ordered the Regiment to be drawn out, and calling for that Soldier, thanked him before them all for taking the Town for him, gave him 1000 Dollars in Money, and a Commiſſion with his own Hand for a Foot Company, or Leave to go home, which he would; the Soldier took the Commiſſion on his Knees, kiſſed it, and put it into his Boſom, and told the King, he would never leave his Service as long as he lived.

This Bounty of the King's, timed and ſuited by his Judgment, was the Reaſon that he was very well ſerved, intirely beloved, and moſt punctually obeyed by his Soldiers, who were ſure to be cheriſhed and encouraged, if they did well, having the King generally an Eye-witneſs of their Behaviour.

My Indiſcretion rather than Valour had engaged me ſo far at the Battle of *Leipſick*, that be-

ing in the Van of Sir *John Hepburn*'s Brigade, almoſt three whole Companies of us were ſeparated from our Line, and ſurrounded by the Enemies Pikes; I cannot but ſay alſo that we were diſengaged rather by a deſperate Charge Sir *John* made with the whole Regiment to fetch us off, than by our own Valour, though we were not wanting to our ſelves neither, but this Part of the Action being talked of very much to the Advantage of the young *Engliſh* Voluntier, and poſſibly more than I deſerved, was the Occaſion of all the Diſtinction the King uſed me with ever after.

I had by this Time Letters from my Father, in which, though with ſome Reluctance, he left me at Liberty to enter into Arms if I thought fit, always obliging me to be directed, and, as he ſaid, commanded by Sir *John Hepburn*; at the ſame Time he wrote to Sir *John Hepburn*, commending his Son's Fortunes, as he called it, to his Care; which Letters Sir *John* ſhewed the King, unknown to me.

I took Care always to acquaint my Father of every Circumſtance, and forgot not to mention his Majeſty's extraordinary Favour, which ſo affected my Father that he obtained a very honourable mention of it in a Letter from King *Charles* to the King of *Sweden*, written by his own Hand.

I had waited on his Majeſty with Sir *John Hepburn*, to give him Thanks for his magnificent Preſent, and was received with his uſual Goodneſs, and after that I was every Day among the Gentlemen of his ordinary Attendance; and if his Majeſty went out on a Party, as he would often do, or to view the Country, I always attended him among the Voluntiers of whom a great many

many always followed him; and he would often call me out, talk with me, ſend me upon Meſſages to Towns, to Princes, free Cities, and the like, upon extraordinary Occaſions.

The firſt Piece of Service he put me upon had like to have embroiled me with one of his favourite Collonels; the King was marching through the *Bergſtract*, a low Country on the edge of the *Rhine*, and, as all Men thought, was going to beſiege *Heidelberg*, but on a ſudden orders a Party of his Guards, with five Companies of *Scots*, to be drawn out; while they were drawing out this Detachment the King calls me to him, *Ho, Cavalier*, ſays he, *that was his uſual Word*, you ſhall command this Party; and thereupon gives me Orders to march back all Night, and in the Morning, by break of Day, to take Poſt under the Walls of the Fort of *Oppenheim*; and immediately to entrench my ſelf as well as I could: *Grave Neels*, the Collonel of his Guards, thought himſelf injured by this Command, but the King took the Matter upon himſelf, and *Grave Neels* told me very familiarly afterwards, We have ſuch a Maſter, ſays he, that no Man can be affronted by: I thought my ſelf wronged, ſays he, when you commanded my Men over my Head; and for my Life, ſays he, I knew not which way to be angry.

I executed my Commiſſion ſo punctually that by break of Day I was ſet down within Muſquet-ſhot of the Fort, under covert of a little Mount, on which ſtood a Wind-mill, and had indifferently fortified my ſelf, and at the ſame Time had poſted ſome of my Men on two other Paſſes, but at farther Diſtance from the Fort, ſo that the Fort was effectually block'd up on the Land-ſide; in the Afternoon the Enemy ſal-

lied on my firſt Entrenchment, but being covered from their Cannon, and defended by a Ditch which I had drawn croſs the Road, they were ſo well received by my Muſqueteers that they retired with the loſs of 6 or 7 Men.

The next Day Sir *John Hepburn* was ſent with two Brigades of Foot to carry on the Work, and ſo my Commiſſion ended; the King expreſſed himſelf very well pleaſed with what I had done, and when he was ſo was never ſparing of telling of it, for he uſed to ſay that publick Commendations were a great Encouragement to Valour.

While Sir *John Hepburn* lay before the Fort, and was preparing to ſtorm it, the King's Deſign was to get over the *Rhine*, but the *Spaniards* which where in *Oppenheim* had ſunk all the Boats they could find; at laſt the King being informed where ſome lay that were ſunk cauſed them to be weighed with all the Expedition poſſible, and in the Night of the 7th of *December* in three Boats paſſed over his Regiment of Guards, about three Miles above the Town, and as the King thought ſecure from Danger; but they were no ſooner landed and not drawn into Order but they were charged by a Body of *Spaniſh* Horſe, and had not the Darkneſs given them Opportunity to draw up in the Encloſures in ſeveral little Parties, they had been in great Danger of being diſordered, but by this Means they lined the Hedges and Lanes ſo with Muſqueteers, that the remainder had Time to draw up in Battalia, and ſaluted the Horſe with their Muſquets ſo that they drew farther off.

The King was very impatient, hearing his Men engaged, having no Boats nor poſſible Means to get over to help them; at laſt, about Eleven a Clock at Night the Boats came back, and the King

King thruſt another Regiment into them, and though his Officers diſſuaded him, would go over himſelf with them on Foot, and did ſo. This was three Months that very Day when the Battle of *Leipſick* was fought, and winter Time too, that the Progreſs of his Arms had ſpread from the *Elbe*, where it parts *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, to the *Lower Palatinate* and the *Rhine*.

I went over in the Boat with the King, I never ſaw him in ſo much Concern in my Life, for he was in Pain for his Men; but before we got on ſhore the *Spaniards* retired, however the King landed, ordered his Men, and prepared to entrench, but he had not Time; for by that Time the Boats were put off again, the *Spaniards*, not knowing more Troops were landed, and being reinforced from *Oppenheim*, came on again, and charged with great Fury; but all Things were now in Order; and they were readily received and beaten back again: They came on again the third Time, and with repeated Charges attacked us; but at laſt finding us too ſtrong for them they gave it over. By this Time another Regiment of Foot was come over, and as ſoon as Day appeared the King with the three Regiments marched to the Town, which ſurrendred at the firſt Summons, and the next Day the Fort yielded to Sir *John Hepburn*.

The Caſtle at *Oppenheim* held out ſtill with a Garriſon of 800 *Spaniards*, and the King leaving 200 *Scots* of Sir *James Ramſey*'s Men in the Town, drew out to attack the Caſtle; Sir *James Ramſey* being left wounded at *Wartsburgh* the King gave me the Command of thoſe 200 Men, which were a Regiment, that is to ſay, all that were left of a Gallant Regiment of 2000 *Scots* which the King brought out of *Sweden* with him, under that Brave Collonel;

there

there was about 30 Officers, who having no Soldiers were yet in Pay, and ſerved as Reformadoes with the Regiment, and were over and above the 200 Men.

The King deſigned to ſtorm the Caſtle on the lower ſide by the Way that leads to *Mentz*, and Sir *John Hepburn* landed from the other Side and marched up to ſtorm on the *Rhine* Port.

My Reformado *Scots* having obſerved that the Town Port of the Caſtle was not ſo well guarded as the reſt, all the Eyes of the Garriſon being bent towards the King and Sir *John Hepburn*; came running to me, and told me, they believed they could enter the Caſtle Sword in Hand if I would give them Leave; I told them I durſt not give them Orders, my Commiſſion being only to keep and defend the Town; but they being very importunate, I told them they were Voluntiers, and might do what they pleaſed, that I would lend them 50 Men and draw up the reſt to ſecond them, or bring them off, as I ſaw Occaſion, ſo as I might not hazard the Town; this was as much as they deſired, they ſallied immediately, and in a trice the Voluntiers ſcaled the Port, cut in Pieces the Guard and burſt open the Gate, at which the 50 entered: finding the Gate won I advanced immediately with 100 Muſqueteers more, having locked up all the Gates of the Town but the Caſtle-Port, and leaving 50 ſtill for a Reſerve juſt at that Gate; the Townſmen too ſeeing the Caſtle as it were taken, run to Arms, and followed me with above 200 Men; the *Spaniards* were knocked down by the *Scots* before they knew what the Matter was, and the King and Sir *John Hepburn* advancing to ſtorm, were ſurprized, when inſtead of Reſiſtance, they ſaw the *Spaniards* throwing themſelves

over

over the Walls to avoid the Fury of the *Scots*; few of the Garriſon got away, but were either killed or taken, and having cleared the Caſtle, I ſet open the Port on the King's Side, and ſent his Majeſty Word the Caſtle was his own. The King came on, and entered on Foot, I received him at the Head of the *Scots* Reformadoes, who all ſaluted him with their Pikes. The King gave them his Hat, and turning about, *Brave* Scots, *Brave* Scots, ſays he ſmiling, *you were too quick for me*; then beckoning to me, made me tell him how and in what Manner we had managed the Storm, which he was exceeding well pleaſed with, but eſpecially at the Caution I had uſed to bring them off if they had miſcarried, and ſecure the Town.

From hence the Army marched to *Mentz*, which in 4 Days Time capitulated, with the Fort and Citadel, and the City paid his Majeſty 300000 Dollars to be exempted from the Fury of the Soldiers; here the King himſelf drew the Plan of thoſe invincible Fortifications which to this Day makes it one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in *Germany*.

Friburg, *Koningſtien*, *Niuſtat*, *Keiſer-Lautern*, and almoſt all the *Lower Palatinate*, ſurrendered at the very Terror of the King of *Sweden*'s Approach, and never ſuffered the Danger of a Siege.

The King held a moſt Magnificent Court at *Mentz*, attended by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, with an incredible Number of Princes and Lords of the Empire, with Ambaſſadors and Reſidents of Foreign Princes; and here his Majeſty ſtaid till *March* when the Queen, with a great Retinue of *Swediſh* Nobility came from *Erfurt* to ſee him. The King attended by a gallant Train of *German* Nobility went to *Frankfort*,

Frankfort, and from thence on to *Hoeſt*, to meet the Queen, where her Majeſty arrived *Feb.* 8th.

During the King's ſtay in theſe Parts, his Armies were not idle, his Troops on one ſide under the *Rhinegrave*, a brave and ever-fortunate Commander, and under the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, on the other, ranged the Country from *Lorrain* to *Luxemburgh*, and paſt the *Moſelle* on the Weſt, and the *Weſer* on the North. Nothing could ſtand before them, the *Spaniſh* Army which came to the Relief of the Catholick Electors was every where defeated and beaten quite out of the Country, and the *Lorrain* Army quite ruined; 'twas a moſt pleaſant Court ſure as ever was ſeen, where every Day Expreſſes arrived of Armies defeated, Towns ſurrendered, Contributions agreed upon, Parties routed, Priſoners taken, and Princes ſending Ambaſſadours to ſue for Truces and Neutralities, to make Submiſſions and Compoſitions, and to pay Arrears and Contributions.

Here arrived, *Febr.* 10th, the King of *Bohemia* from *England*, and with him my Lord *Craven*, with a Body of *Dutch Horſe*, and a very fine Train of *Engliſh* Voluntiers, who immediately, without any ſtay, marched on to *Hoeſt* to wait upon his Majeſty of *Sweden*, who received him with a great deal of Civility, and was treated at a Noble Collation, by the King and Queen, at *Frankfort*. Never had the Unfortunate King ſo fair a Proſpect of being reſtored to his Inheritance of the *Palatinate* as at that Time, and had King *James*, his Father-in-Law, had a Soul anſwerable to the Occaſion, it had been effected before, but it was a ſtrange Thing to ſee him equipped from the *Engliſh* Court with one Lord and about 40 or 50 *Engliſh Gentlemen* in his Attendance,

ance, whereas had the King of *England* now, as 'tis well known he might have done, furniſhed him with 10 or 12000 *Engliſh* Foot, nothing could have hindered him taking a full Poſſeſſion of his Country; and yet even without that Help did the King of *Sweden* clear almoſt his whole Country of *Imperialiſts*, and after his Death reinſtal his Son in the Electorate, but no Thanks to us.

The Lord *Craven* did me the Honour to enquire for me by Name, and his Majeſty of *Sweden* did me yet more by preſenting me to the King of *Bohemia*, and my Lord *Craven* gave me a Letter from my Father, and ſpeaking ſomething of my Father having ſerved under the Prince of *Orange* in the Famous Battle of *Neuport*, the King ſmiling returned, *And pray tell him from me his Son has ſerved as well in the warm Battle of* Leipſick.

My Father being very much pleaſed with the Honour I had received from ſo great a King, had ordered me to acquaint his Majeſty, that if he pleaſed to accept of their Service he would raiſe him a Regiment of *Engliſh* Horſe at his own Charge to be under my Command, and to be ſent over into *Holland*; and my Lord *Craven* had Orders from the King of *England* to ſignify his Conſent to the ſaid Levy. I acquainted my old Friend Sir *John Hepburn* with the Contents of the Letter, in order to have his Advice, who being pleaſed with the Propoſal, would have me go to the King immediately with the Letter, but preſent Service put it off for ſome Days.

The taking of *Creutznach* was the next Service of any Moment; the King drew out in Perſon to the Siege of this Town; the Town ſoon came to a Parly, but the Caſtle ſeemed a Work of Difficulty; for its Situation was ſo ſtrong and ſo ſurrounded with

with Works behind and above one another, that moſt People thought the King would receive a Check from it; but it was not eaſy to reſiſt the Reſolution of the King of *Sweden*.

He never battered it but with two ſmall Pieces, but having viewed the Works himſelf, ordered a Mine under the firſt Ravelin, which being ſprung with Succeſs, he commands a ſtorm; I think there was not more commanded Men than Voluntiers, both *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *French* and *Germans*: My old Comrade was by this Time recovered of his Wound at *Leipſick*, and made one. The firſt Body of Voluntiers of about 40, were led on by my Lord *Craven*, and I led the ſecond, among whom were moſt of the Reformade *Scots* Officers who took the Caſtle of *Oppenheim*; the firſt Party was not able to make any Thing of it, the Garriſon fought with ſo much Fury that many of the Voluntier Gentlemen being wounded, and ſome killed, the reſt were beaten off with Loſs. The King was in ſome Paſſion at his Men, and rated them for running away, as he called it, though they really retreated in good Order, and commanded the Aſſault to be renewed. 'Twas our Turn to fall on next; our *Scots* Officers not being uſed to be beaten, advanced immediately, and my Lord *Craven*, with his Voluntiers, pierced in with us, fighting gallantly in the Breach with a Pike in his Hand, and to give him the Honour due to his Bravery, he was with the firſt on the Top of the Rampart, and gave his Hand to my Comrade, and lifted him up after him; we helped one another up, till at laſt almoſt all the Voluntiers had gained the Height of the Ravelin, and maintained it with a great Deal of Reſolution, expecting when the commanded Men had gained the ſame Height to advance upon the Enemy, when one

one of the Enemies Captains called to my Lord *Craven*, and told him if they might have honourable Terms they would capitulate, which my Lord telling him he would engage for, the Garriſon fired no more, and the Captain leaping down from the next Rampart came with my Lord *Craven* into the Camp, where the Conditions were agreed on, and the Caſtle ſurrendered.

After the taking of this Town, the King hearing of *Tilly*'s Approach, and how he had beaten *Guſtavus Horn*, the King's Field Marſhal out of *Bamberg*, began to draw his Forces together, and leaving the Care of his Conqueſts in theſe Parts to his Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, prepares to advance towards *Bavaria*.

I had taken an Opportunity to wait upon his Majeſty with Sir *John Hepburn*, and being about to introduce the Diſcourſe of my Father's Letter, the King told me he had received a Compliment on my account in a Letter from King *Charles*: I told him his Majeſty had by his exceeding Generoſity bound me and all my Friends to pay their Acknowledgments to him, and that I ſuppoſed my Father had obtained ſuch a mention of it from the King of *England* as Gratitude moved him to; that his Majeſty's Favour had been ſhewn in me to a Family both willing and ready to ſerve him, that I had received ſome Commands from my Father, which if his Majeſty pleaſed to do me the Honour to accept of, might put me in a Condition to acknowledge his Majeſty's Goodneſs in a Manner more proportioned to the Senſe I had of his Favour; and with that I produced my Father's Letter, and read that Clauſe in it which related to the Regiment of Horſe, which was as follows.

I read

I Read with a great deal of Satisfaction the Account you give of the great and extraordinary Conqueſts of the King of Sweden, *and with more his Majeſty's Singular Favour to you, I hope you will be careful to value and deſerve ſo much Honour; I am glad you rather choſe to ſerve as a Voluntier at your own Charge, than to take any Command, which for want of Experience you might misbehave in.*

I have obtained of the King that he will particularly Thank his Majeſty of Sweden *for the Honour he has done you, and if his Majeſty gives you ſo much Freedom, I could be glad you ſhould in the humbleſt Manner thank his Majeſty in the Name of an old broken Soldier.*

If you think your ſelf Officer enough to command them, and his Majeſty pleaſed to accept them, I would have you offer to raiſe his Majeſty a Regiment of Horſe, which I think I may near compleat in our Neighbourhood with ſome of your old Acquaintance who are very willing to ſee the World. If his Majeſty gives you the Word, they ſhall receive his Commands in the Maes, *the King having promiſed me to give them Arms, and tranſport them for that Service into* Holland; *and I hope they may do his Majeſty ſuch Service as may be for your Honour and the Advantage of his Majeſty's Intereſt and Glory,*

Your loving Father.

'Tis an Offer like a Gentleman and like a Soldier, ſays the King, *and I'll accept of it on two Conditions; firſt,* ſays the King, *that I will pay your Father the Advance Money for the raiſing the Regiment; and next, that they ſhall be landed in the* Weſer *or the* Elbe, *for which if the King of* England *will not, I will pay the Paſſage, for if they land in* Holland, *it may prove very difficult to get them to us when the Army ſhall be marched out of this Part of the Country.*

I rea-

I returned this Anſwer to my Father, and ſent my Man *George* into *England* to Order that Regiment, and made him Quarter-Maſter; I ſent blank Commiſſions for the Officers, ſigned by the King, to be filled up as my Father ſhould think fit; and when I had the King's Order for the Commiſſions, the Secretary told me I muſt go back to the King with them. Accordingly I went back to the King, who opening the Packet, laid all the Commiſſions but one upon a Table before him, and bad me take them, and keeping that one ſtill in his Hand, *Now*, ſays he, *you are one of my Soldiers*, and therewith gave me his Commiſſion, as Collonel of Horſe in preſent Pay. I took the Commiſſion kneeling, and humbly thanked his Majeſty; *But*, ſays the King, *there is one Article of War I expect of you more than of others.* *Your Majeſty can expect nothing of me which I ſhall not willingly comply with*, ſaid I, *as ſoon as I have the Honour to underſtand what it is.* *Why it is*, ſays the King, *that you ſhall never fight but when you have Orders; for I ſhall not be willing to loſe my Collonel before I have the Regiment.* *I ſhall be ready at all Times, Sir*, returned I, *to obey your Majeſty's Orders.*

I ſent my Man Expreſs with the King's Anſwer, and the Commiſſion to my Father, who had the Regiment compleated in leſs than 2 Months time, and 6 of the Officers with a Liſt of the reſt came away to me, who I preſented to his Majeſty when he lay before *Neurenburg*, where they kiſſed his Hand.

One of the Captains offered to bring the whole Regiment travelling as private Men into the Army in ſix Weeks Time, and either to tranſport their Equipage, or buy it in *Germany*; but 'twas thought impracticable; however, I had ſo many came in that Manner that I had a compleat

Troop always about me, and obtained the King's Order to muſter them as a Troop.

On the 8th of *March* the King decampt, and marching up the River *Mayn*, bent his Courſe directly for *Bavaria*, taking ſeveral ſmall Places by the Way, and expecting to engage with *Tilly*, who he thought would diſpute his Entrance into *Bavaria*, kept his Army together; but *Tilly* finding himſelf too weak to encounter him, turned away, and leaving *Bavaria* open to the King, marched into the *Upper Palatinate*. The King finding the Country clear of the *Imperialiſts*, comes to *Norimberg*, made his Entrance into that City the 21ſt of *March*, and being nobly treated by the Citizens, he continued his March into *Bavaria*; and on the 26th ſat down before *Donawert*: The Town was taken the next Day by Storm, ſo ſwift were the Conqueſts of this invincible Captain. Sir *John Hepburn*, with the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* Voluntiers at the Head of them, entred the Town firſt, and cut all the Garriſon to Pieces, except ſuch as eſcaped over the Bridge.

I had no Share in the Buſineſs of *Donawert*, being now among the Horſe, but I was poſted on the Roads with five Troops of Horſe, where we picked up a great many Stragglers of the Garriſon, who we made Priſoners of War.

'Tis obſervable, that this Town of *Donawert* is a very ſtrong Place and well fortified, and yet ſuch Expedition did the King make, and ſuch Reſolution did he uſe in his firſt Attacks, that he carried the Town without putting himſelf to the Trouble of formal Approaches; 'twas generally his way when he came before any Town with a Deſign to beſiege it; he never would encamp at a Diſtance and begin his Trenches a great Way off, but bring his Men immediately within

within half Muſquet-ſhot of the Place, there getting under the beſt Cover he could, he would immediately begin his Batteries and Trenches before their Faces; and if there was any Place poſſible to be attacked, he would fall to ſtorming immediately: By this reſolute way of coming on he carried many a Town in the firſt heat of his Men, which would have held out many Days againſt a more Regular Siege.

This March of the King broke all *Tilly*'s Meaſures, for now was he obliged to face about, and leaving the *Upper Palatinate*, to come to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bavaria*; for the King being 20000 ſtrong, beſides 10000 Foot and 4000 Horſe and Dragoons which joined him from the *Duringer Wald*, was reſolved to ruin the Duke, who lay now open to him, and was the moſt powerful and inveterate Enemy of the Proteſtants in the Empire.

Tilly was now joined with the Duke of *Bavaria*, and might together make about 22000 Men, and in Order to keep the *Swedes* out of the Country of *Bavaria*, had planted themſelves along the Banks of the River *Lech*, which runs on the Edge of the Duke's Territories; and having fortified the other Side of the River, and planted his Cannon for ſeveral Miles at all the convenient Places on the River, reſolved to diſpute the King's Paſſage.

I ſhall be the longer in relating this Account of the *Lech*, being eſteemed in thoſe Days as great an Action as any Battle or Siege of that Age, and particularly famous for the Diſaſter of the gallant old General *Tilly*; and for that I can be more particular in it than other Accounts, having been an Eye-witneſs to every part of it.

The King being truly informed of the Diſpoſition of the *Bavarian* Army, was once of the Mind to have left the Banks of the *Lech*, have repaſſed the *Danube*, and ſo ſetting down before *Ingolſtat*, the Duke's Capital City, by the taking that ſtrong Town to have made his Entrance into *Bavaria*, and the Conqueſt of ſuch a Fortreſs, one entire Action; but the Strength of the Place, and the Difficulty of maintaining his Leaguer in an Enemy's Country, while *Tilly* was ſo ſtrong in the Field, diverted him from that Deſign; he therefore concluded that *Tilly* was firſt to be beaten out of the Country, and then the Siege of *Ingolſtat* would be the eaſier.

Whereupon the King reſolved to go and view the Situation of the Enemy; his Majeſty went out the 2d of *April* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, which I had the Honour to command; we marched as near as we could to the Banks of the River, not to be too much expoſed to the Enemy's Cannon, and having gained a little Height, where the whole Courſe of the River might be ſeen, the King halted, and Commanded to draw up. The King alighted, and calling me to him, Examined every Reach and Turning of the River by his Glaſs, but finding the River run a long and almoſt a ſtraight Courſe, he could find no Place which he liked, but at laſt turning himſelf North, and looking down the ſtream, he found the River fetching a long Reach, doubles ſhort upon it ſelf, making a round and very narrow Point, *There's a Point will do our buſineſs*, ſays the King, *and if the Ground be good I'll paſs there, let* Tilly *do his worſt.*

He immediately ordered a ſmall Party of Horſe to view the Ground, and to bring him Word

Word particularly how high the Bank was on each Side and at the Point; and he ſhall have 50 Dollars, ſays the King, that will bring me Word how deep the Water is. I asked his Majeſty Leave to let me go, which he would by no Means allow of; but as the Party was drawing out, a Serjeant of Dragoons told the King, if he pleaſed to let him go diſguiſed as a Boor, he would bring him an Account of every Thing he deſired. The King liked the Motion well enough, and the Fellow being very well acquainted with the Country, puts on a Ploughman's Habit, and went away immediately with a long Pole upon his Shoulder; the Horſe lay all this while in the Woods, and the King ſtood undiſcerned by the Enemy on the little Hill aforeſaid. The Dragoon with his long Pole comes down boldly to the Bank of the River, and calling to the Centinels which *Tilly* had placed on the other Bank, talked with them, asked them, if they could not help him over the River, and pretended he wanted to come to them; at laſt being come to the Point, where, as I ſaid, the River makes a ſhort Turn, he ſtands parlying with them a great while, and ſometimes pretending to wade over, he puts his long Pole into the Water, then finding it pretty Shallow he pulls off his Hoſe and goes in, ſtill thruſting his Pole in before him, till being gotten up to his middle, he could reach beyond him, where it was too deep, and ſo ſhaking his Head, comes back again. The Soldiers on the other Side laughing at him, asked him if he could ſwim? He ſaid, No. Why you Fool you, ſays one of the Centinels, the Channel of the River is 20 Foot deep. How do you know that? ſays the Dragoon. Why our

Engineer, ſays he, meaſured it Yeſterday. This was what he wanted, but not yet fully ſatisfied; Ay but, ſays he, may be it may not be very broad, and if one of you would wade in to meet me till I could reach you with my Pole, I'd give him half a Ducat to pull me over. The innocent way of his Diſcourſe ſo deluded the Soldiers, that one of them immediately ſtrips and goes in up to the Shoulders, and our Dragoon goes in on this Side to meet him; but the Stream took the t'other Soldier away, and he being a good Swimmer, came ſwimming over to this Side. The Dragoon was then in a great deal of Pain for fear of being diſcovered, and was once going to kill the Fellow, and make off; but at laſt reſolved to carry on the Humour, and having entertained the Fellow with a Tale of a Tub, about the *Swedes* ſtealing his Oats, the Fellow being a cold wanted to be gone, and he as willing to be rid of him, pretended to be very ſorry he could not get over the River, and ſo makes off.

By this however he learned both the Depth and Breadth of the Channel, the Bottom and Nature of both Shores, and every Thing the King wanted to know; we could ſee him from the Hill by our Glaſſes very plain, and could ſee the Soldier naked with him: Says the King, he will certainly be diſcovered and knocked on the Head from the other Side: He is a Fool, ſays the King, he does not kill the Fellow and run off; but when the Dragoon told his Tale, the King was extremely well ſatisfied with him, gave him 100 Dollars, and made him a Quarter-maſter to a Troop of Cuiraſſiers.

The King having farther examined the Dragoon, he gave him a very diſtinct Account of the

the Shore and the Ground on this Side, which he found to be higher than the Enemy's by 10 or 12 Foot, and a hard Gravel.

Hereupon the King reſolves to paſs there, and in order to it gives, himſelf, particular Directions for ſuch a Bridge as I believe never Army paſſed a River on before nor ſince.

His Bridge was only looſe Plank laid upon large Treſſels in the ſame homely Manner as I have ſeen Bricklayers raiſe a low Scaffold to build a Brick Wall; the Treſſels were made higher than one another to anſwer to the River as it become deeper or ſhallower, and was all framed and fitted before any Appearance was made of attempting to paſs.

When all was ready the King brings his Army down to the Bank of the River, and plants his Cannon as the Enemy had done, ſome here and ſome there, to amuſe them.

At Night *April* 4th, the King commanded about 2000 Men to march to the Point, and to throw up a Trench on either Side, and quite round it with a Battery of ſix Pieces of Cannon, at each End beſides three ſmall Mounts, one at the Point and one of each Side, which had each of them two Pieces upon them. This Work was begun ſo briskly, and ſo well carried on, the King firing all the Night from the other Parts of the River, that by Day-light all the Batteries at the new Work were mounted, the Trench lined with 2000 Muſqueteers, and all the Utenſils of the Bridge lay ready to be put together.

Now the *Imperialiſts* diſcovered the Deſign, but it was too late to hinder it, the Muſqueteers in the great Trench, and the five new Batteries, made ſuch continual Fire that the other Bank, which, as before, lay 12 Foot below them, was too

hot for the *Imperialiſts*; whereupon *Tilly*, to be provided for the King at his coming over, falls to work in a Wood right againſt the Point, and raiſes a great Battery for 20 Pieces of Cannon, with a Breaſt-Work, or Line, as near the River as he could, to cover his Men, thinking that when the King had built his Bridge he might eaſily beat it down with his Cannon.

But the King had doubly prevented him, firſt by laying his Bridge ſo low that none of *Tilly*'s Shot could hurt it; for the Bridge lay not above half a Foot above the Water's edge, by which Means the King, who in that ſhewed himſelf an excellent Engineer, had ſecured it from any Batteries to be made within the Land, and the Angle of the Bank ſecured it from the remoter Batteries, on the other Side, and the continual Fire of the Cannon and ſmall Shot beat the *Imperialiſts* from their ſtation juſt againſt it, they having no Works to cover them.

And in the ſecond Place, to ſecure his Paſſage he ſent over about 200 Men, and after that 200 more, who had Orders to caſt up a large Ravelin on the other Bank, juſt where he deſigned to land his Bridge; this was done with ſuch Expedition too, that it was finiſhed before Night, and in a Condition to receive all the Shot of *Tilly*'s great Battery, and effectually covered his Bridge. While this was doing the King on his Side lays over his Bridge. Both Sides wrought hard all Day and all Night, as if the Spade, not the Sword, had been to decide the Controverſy, and that he had got the Victory whoſe Trenches and Batteries were firſt ready; in the mean while the Cannon and Muſquet Bullets flew like Hail, and made the Service ſo hot, that both Sides had enough to do to make their

Men

Men ſtand to their Work; the King in the hotteſt of it, animated his Men by his Preſence, and *Tilly*, to give him his Due, did the ſame; for the Execution was ſo great, and ſo many Officers killed, General *Attringer* wounded, and two Sergeant Majors killed, that at laſt *Tilly* himſelf was obliged to expoſe himſelf, and to come up to the very Face of our Line to encourage his Men, and give his neceſſary Orders.

And here about one a Clock, much about the Time that the King's Bridge and Works were finiſhed, and juſt as they ſaid he had ordered to fall on upon our Ravelin with 3000 Foot, was the Brave old *Tilly* ſlain with a Muſquet Bullet in the Thigh; he was carried off to *Ingolſtat*, and lived ſome Days after, but died of that Wound the ſame Day as the King had his Horſe ſhot under him at the Siege of that Town.

We made no queſtion of paſſing the River here, having brought every Thing ſo forward, and with ſuch extraordinary Succeſs, but we ſhould have found it a very hot Piece of Work if *Tilly* had lived one Day more; and if I may give my Opinion of it, having ſeen *Tilly*'s Battery and Breaſt-work, in the Face of which we muſt have paſſed the River, I muſt ſay, that whenever we had marched, if *Tilly* had fallen in with his Horſe and Foot, placed in that Trench, the whole Army would have paſſed as much Danger *as in the Face of a ſtrong Town in the ſtorming a Counterſcarp.* The King himſelf, when he ſaw with what Judgment *Tilly* had prepared his Works, and what Danger he muſt have run, would often ſay, that Day's Succeſs was every way equal to the Victory of *Leipſick.*

Tilly being hurt and carried off, as if the Soul of the Army had been loſt, they begun to draw off;

off; the Duke of *Bavaria* took Horſe and rid away as if he had fled out of Battle for his Life.

The other Generals, with a little more Caution, as well as Courage, drew off by Degrees, ſending their Cannon and Baggage away firſt, and leaving ſome to continue firing on the Bank of the River to conceal their Retreat; the River preventing any Intelligence, we knew nothing of the Diſaſter befallen them; and the King, who looked for Blows, having finiſhed his Bridge and Ravelin, ordered to run a Line with Paliſadoes to take in more Ground on the Bank of the River, to cover the firſt Troops he ſhould ſend over: This being finiſhed the ſame Night, the King ſends over a Party of his Guards to relieve the Men who were in the Ravelin, and commanded 600 Muſqueteers to Man the new line out of the *Scots* Brigade.

Early in the Morning a ſmall Party of *Scots*, commanded by one Captain *Forbes*, of my Lord *Reas* Regiment, were ſent out to learn ſomething of the Enemy, the King obſerving they had not fired all Night; and while this Party were abroad, the Army ſtood in Battalia; and my old Friend Sir *John Hepburn*, whom of all Men the King moſt depended upon for any deſperate Service, was ordered to paſs the Bridge with his Brigade, and to draw up without the Line, with Command to advance as he found the Horſe who were to ſecond him came over.

Sir *John* being paſſed without the Trench, meets Captain *Forbes* with ſome Priſoners, and the good News of the Enemy's Retreat; he ſends him directly to the King, who was by this Time at the Head of his Army, in full Battalia ready to follow his Vanguard, expecting a hot Day's Work

Work of it. Sir *John* ſends Meſſenger after Meſſenger to the King, intreating him to give him Orders to advance; but the King would not ſuffer him; for he was ever upon his Guard, and would not venture a Surprize; ſo the Army continued on this Side the *Lech* all Day, and the next Night. In the Morning the King ſent for me, and ordered me to draw out 300 Horſe, and a Collonel with 600 Horſe, and a Collonel with 800 Dragoons, and ordered us to enter the Wood by 3 Ways, but ſo as to be able to relieve one another; and then ordered Sir *John Hepburn* with his Brigade to advance to the edge of the Wood to ſecure our Retreat; and at the ſame Time commanded another Brigade of Foot to paſs the Bridge, if need were, to ſecond Sir *John Hepburn*, ſo warily did this prudent General proceed.

We advanced with our Horſe into the *Bavarian* Camp, which we found forſaken; the plunder of it was inconſiderable, for the exceeding Caution the King had uſed gave them Time to carry off all their Baggage; we followed them three or four Miles and returned to our Camp.

I confeſs I was moſt diverted that Day with viewing the Works which *Tilly* had caſt up, and muſt own again, that had he not been taken off, we had met with as deſperate a Piece of Work as ever was attempted. The next Day the reſt of the Cavalry came up to us, commanded by *Guſtavus Horn*, and the King and the whole Army followed; we advanced through the Heart of *Bavaria*, took *Rain* at the firſt Summons, and ſeveral other ſmall Towns, and ſat down before *Ausburg*.

Ausburg, though a Proteſtant City, had a popiſh *Bavarian* Garriſon in it of above 5000 Men, commanded by a *Fugger* a great Family in *Bavaria*.

varia. The Governour had poſted ſeveral little Parties as out Scouts at the Diſtance of two Miles and half, or three Miles from the Town. The King, at his coming up to this Town, ſends me with my little Troop, and 3 Companies of Dragoons to beat in theſe out Scouts; the firſt Party I light on was not above 16 Men, who had made a ſmall Barricado croſs the Road, and ſtood reſolutely upon their Guard; I commanded the Dragoons to alight, and open the Barricado, which while they reſolutely performed, the 16 Men gave them 2 Volleys of their Muſquets, and through the Encloſures made their Retreat to a Turn-pike about a quarter of a Mile farther. We paſt their firſt Traverſe, and coming up to the Turn-pike, I found it defended by 200 Muſqueteers: I prepared to attack them, ſending word to the King how ſtrong the Enemy was, and deſired ſome Foot to be ſent me. My Dragoons fell on, and tho' the Enemy made a very hot Fire, had beat them from this Poſt before 200 Foot, which the King had ſent me, had come up; being joined with the Foot, I followed the Enemy, who retreated fighting, till they came under the Cannon of a ſtrong Redoubt, where they drew up, and I could ſee another Body of Foot of about 300 join them out of the Works; upon which I halted, and conſidering I was in View of the Town, and a great way from the Army, I faced about and began to march off; as we marched I found the Enemy followed, but kept at a Diſtance, as if they only deſigned to obſerve me; I had not marched far, but I heard a Volly of ſmall Shot, anſwered by 2 or 3 more, which I preſently apprehended to be at the Turn-pike, where I had left a ſmall Guard of 26 Men, with a Lieutenant. Immediately I detached 100 Dragoons

to

to relieve my Men, and ſecure my Retreat, following my ſelf as faſt as the Foot could march. The Lieutenant ſent me back word the Poſt was taken by the Enemy, and my Men cut off; upon this I doubled my Pace, and when I came up I found it as the Lieutenant ſaid; for the Poſt was taken and manned with 300 Muſqueteers, and three Troops of Horſe; by this Time alſo I found the Party in my Rear made up towards me, ſo that I was like to be charged in a narrow Place, both in Front and Rear.

I ſaw there was no Remedy but with all my Force to fall upon that Party before me, and ſo to break through before thoſe from the Town could come up with me; wherefore commanding my Dragoons to alight, I ordered them to fall on upon the Foot; their Horſe were drawn up in an encloſed Field on one Side of the Road, a great Ditch ſecuring the other Side, ſo that they thought if I charged the Foot in Front they would fall upon my Flank, while thoſe behind would charge my Rear; and indeed had the other come in Time, they had cut me off; my Dragoons made three fair Charges on their Foot, but were received with ſo much Reſolution, and ſo brisk a Fire that they were beaten off, and ſixteen Men killed: Seeing them ſo rudely handled, and the Horſe ready to fall in, I relieved them with 100 Muſqueteers and they renewed the Attack, at the ſame Time with my Troop of Horſe, flanked on both Wings with 50 Muſqueteers, I faced their Horſe, but did not offer to charge them; the Caſe grew now deſperate, and the Enemy behind were juſt at my Heels with near 600 Men; the Captain who commanded the Muſqueteers who flanked my Horſe came up to me, ſays he, if we do not force

this

this Paſs all will be loſt; if you will draw out your Troop and 20 of my Foot, and fall in, I'll engage to keep off the Horſe with the reſt. With all my Heart, ſays I.

Immediately I wheel'd off my Troop, and a ſmall Party of the Muſqueteers followed me, and fell in with the Dragoons and Foot, who ſeeing the Danger too, as well as I, fought like Mad Men; the Foot at the Turn-pike were not able to hinder our Breaking through, ſo we made our way out, killing about 150 of them, and put the reſt into Confuſion.

But now was I in as great a Difficulty as before how to fetch off my brave Captain of Foot, for they charged home upon him; he defended himſelf with extraordinary Gallantry, having the Benefit of a Piece of a Hedge to cover him; but he loſt half his Men, and was juſt upon the Point of being defeated, when the King, informed by a Soldier that eſcaped from the Turn-pike, one of 26, had ſent a Party of 600 Dragoons to bring me off; theſe came upon the Spur, and joined with me juſt as I had broke through the Turn-pike; the Enemy's Foot rallied behind their Horſe, and by this Time their other Party was come in, but ſeeing our Relief they drew off together.

I loſt above 100 Men in theſe Skirmiſhes, and kill'd them about 180; we ſecured the Turn-pike, and placed a Company of Foot there with 100 Dragoons, and came back well beaten to the Army. The King, to prevent ſuch uncertain Skirmiſhes, advanced the next Day in View of the Town, and according to his Cuſtom, ſits down with his whole Army within Cannon-ſhot of their Walls.

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The King won this great City by Force of Words, for by two or three Meſſages and Letters to and from the Citizens, the Town was gained, the Garriſon not daring to defend them againſt their Wills. His Majeſty made his publick Entrance into the City on the 14th of *April*, and receiving the Compliments of the Citizens, advanced immediately to *Ingolſtat*, which is accounted, and really is the ſtrongeſt Town in all theſe Parts.

The Town had a very ſtrong Garriſon in it, and the Duke of *Bavaria* lay entrenched with his Army under the Walls of it, on the other Side of the River. The King, who never loved long Sieges, having viewed the Town, and brought his Army within Muſquet-ſhot of it, called a Council of War, where it was the King's Opinion, in ſhort, that the Town would loſe him more than 'twas worth, and therefore he reſolved to raiſe his Siege.

Here the King going to view the Town had his Horſe ſhot with a Cannon-bullet from the Works, which tumbled the King and his Horſe over one another, that every Body thought he had been killed, but he received no Hurt at all; that very Minute, as near as could be learnt, General *Tilly* died in the Town of the Shot he received on the Bank of the *Lech* as aforeſaid.

I was not in the Camp when the King was hurt, for the King had ſent almoſt all the Horſe and Dragoons, under *Guſtavus Horn*, to face the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Camp, and after that to plunder the Country, which truly was a Work the Soldiers were very glad of, for it was very ſeldom they had that Liberty given them, and they made very good uſe of it when it was; for the Country of *Bavaria* was rich and plentiful, having

having ſeen no Enemy before during the whole War.

The Army having left the Siege of *Ingolſtat*, proceeds to take in the reſt of *Bavaria*; Sir *John Hepburn* with 3 Brigades of Foot, and *Guſtavus Horn* with 3000 Horſe and Dragoons, went to the *Landſhut*, and took it the ſame Day; the Garriſon was all Horſe, and gave us ſeveral Camiſadoes at our Approach, in one of which I loſt two of my Troops, but when we had beat them into cloſe Quarters, they preſently capitulated. The General got a great Sum of Money of the Town beſides a great many Preſents to the Officers: And from thence the King went on to *Munick*, the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Court; ſome of the General Officers would fain have had the plundering of the Duke's Palace; but the King was too generous, the City paid him 400000 Dollars; and the Duke's Magazine was there ſeized, in which was 140 Pieces of Cannon, and ſmall Arms for above 20000 Men. The great Chamber of the Duke's Rarities was preſerved by the Kings ſpecial Order with a great deal of Care. I expected to have ſtaid here ſome Time, and to have taken a very exact Account of this curious Labaratory; but being commanded away, I had no Time, and the Fate of the War never gave me Opportunity to ſee it again.

The *Imperialiſts* under the Command of Comiſſary *Oſta* had beſieged *Bibrach*, an Imperial City not very well fortified, and the Inhabitants being under the *Swede*'s Protection, defended themſelves as well as they could, but were in great Danger, and ſent ſeveral Expreſſes to the King for Help.

The King immediately detaches a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot, to relieve *Bibrach*, and would be

be the Commander himſelf; I marched among the Horſe, but the *Imperialiſts* ſaved us the Labour; for the News of the King's coming frighted away *Oſta*, that he left *Bibrach*, and hardly looked behind him 'till he got up to the *Bodenſee*, on the Confines of *Swiſſerland*.

At our Return from this Expedition, the King had the firſt News of *Walleſtein*'s Approach, who on the Death of Count *Tilly*, being declared Generaliſſimo of the Emperor's Forces, had plaid the Tyrant in *Bohemia*, and was now advancing with 60000 Men, as they reported, to relieve the Duke of *Bavaria*.

The King therefore, in order to be in a Poſture to receive this great General, reſolves to quit *Bavaria*, and to expect him on the Frontiers of *Franconia*; and becauſe he knew the *Norembergers*, for their Kindneſs to him, would be the firſt Sacrifice, he reſolved to defend that City againſt him whatever it coſt.

Nevertheleſs he did not leave *Bavaria* without a Defence; but on the one Hand he left Sir *John Bannier* with 16000 Men about *Ausburgh*, and the Duke of *Saxe-Weymar* with another like Army about *Ulme* and *Meningen*, with Orders ſo to direct their March, as that they might join him upon any Occaſion in a few Days.

We encamped about *Noremberg* the Middle of *June*. The Army, after ſo many Detachments, was not above 19000 Men. The Imperial Army joined with the *Bavarian*, were not ſo numerous as was reported, but were really 60000 Men. The King, not ſtrong enough to fight yet, as he uſed to ſay, was ſtrong enough not to be forced to to fight, formed his Camp ſo under the Cannon of *Noremberg*, that there was no beſieging the

Town, but they muſt beſiege him too; and he fortified his Camp in ſo formidable a Manner, that *Walleſtein* never durſt attack him. On the 30th of *June*, *Walleſtein*'s Troops appeared, and on the 5th of *July*, encamped cloſe by the King, and poſted themſelves not on the *Bavarian* Side, but between the King and his own Friends of *Schwaben*, and *Frankenland* in order to intercept his Proviſions, and, as they thought, to ſtarve him out of his Camp.

Here they lay to ſee, as it were, who could ſubſiſt longeſt; the King was ſtrong in Horſe, for we had full 8000 Horſe and Dragoons in the Army, and this gave us great Advantage in the ſeveral Skirmiſhes we had with the Enemy. The Enemy had Poſſeſſion of the whole Country, and had taken effectual Care to furniſh their Army with Proviſions; they placed their Guards in ſuch excellent Order, to ſecure their Convoys, that their Waggons went from Stage to Stage as quiet as in a time of Peace, and were relieved every five Miles by Parties conſtantly poſted on the Road. And thus the Imperial General ſat down by us, not doubting but he ſhould force the King either to fight his Way through, on very diſadvantageous Terms, or to riſe for want of Proviſions, and leave the City of *Noremberg* a Prey to his Army; for he had vowed the Deſtruction of the City, and to make it a ſecond *Magdeburg*.

But the King, who was not to be eaſily deceived, had counterm'ned all *Walleſtein*'s Deſigns; he had paſſed his Honour to the *Norembergers*, that he would not leave them, and they had undertaken to Victual his Army, and ſecure him from Want, which they did ſo effectually, that he

he had no Occaſion to expoſe his Troops to any Hazard or Fatigues for Convoys or Forage on any Account whatever.

The City of *Noremberg* is a very rich, and populous City; and the King being very ſenſible of their Danger, had given his Word for their Defence: And when they, being terrified at the Threats of the *Imperialiſts*, ſent their Deputies to beſeech the King to take care of them, he ſent them Word, he would, and be beſieged with them. They on the other Hand laid in ſuch Stores of all Sorts of Proviſion, both for Men and Horſe, that had *Walleſtein* lain before it ſix Months longer, there would have been no Scarcity. Every private Houſe was a Magazine, the Camp was plentifully ſupplied with all Manner of Proviſions, and the Market always full, and as cheap as in Times of Peace. The Magiſtrates were ſo careful, and preſerved ſo excellent an Order in the Diſpoſal of all ſorts of Proviſion, that no engroſſing of Corn could be practiſed; for the Prices were every Day directed at the Town-houſe: And if any Man offered to demand more Money for Corn, than the ſtated Price, he could not ſell, becauſe at the Town Store-houſe you might buy cheaper. Here are two Inſtances of good and bad Conduct; the City of *Magdeburgh* had been intreated by the King to ſettle Funds, and raiſe Money for their Proviſion and Security, and to have a ſufficient Garriſon to defend them, but they made Difficulties, either to raiſe Men for themſelves, or to admit the King's Troops to aſſiſt them, for fear of the Charge of maintaining them; and this was the Cauſe of the City's Ruin.

The City of *Noremberg* open'd their Arm sto receive the Aſſiſtance proferred by the *Swedes*, and

their Purſes to defend their Town, and Common Cauſe, and this was the ſaving them abſolutely from Deſtruction. The rich Burghers and Magiſtrates kept open Houſes, where the Officers of the Army were always welcome; and the Council of the City took ſuch Care of the Poor, that there was no Complaining nor Diſorders in the whole City. There is no doubt but it coſt the City a great deal of Money; but I never ſaw a publick Charge borne with ſo much Chearfulneſs, nor managed with ſo much Prudence and Conduct in my Life. The City fed above 50000 Mouths every Day, including their own Poor, beſides themſelves; and yet when the King had lain thus 3 Months, and finding his Armies longer in coming up than he expected, asked the Burgrave how their Magazines held out? He anſwered, they deſired his Majeſty not to haſten things for them, for they could maintain themſelves and him 12 Months longer, if there was Occaſion. This Plenty kept both the Army and City in good Health, as well as in good Heart; whereas nothing was to be had of us but Blows; for we fetched nothing from without our Works, nor had no Buſineſs without the Line, but to interrupt the Enemy.

The Manner of the King's Encampment deſerves a particular Chapter. He was a compleat Surveyor, and a Maſter in Fortification, not to be outdone by any Body. He had poſted his Army in the Suburbs of the Town, and drawn Lines round the whole Circumference, ſo that he begirt the whole City with his Army; his Works were large, the Ditch deep, flanked with innumerable Baſtions, Ravelins, Horn-works, Forts, Redoubts, Batteries and Palliſadoes, the inceſſant Work of 8000 Men for about 14 Days; beſides

that

that the King was adding ſome thing or other to it every Day; and the very Poſture of his Camp was enough to tell a bigger Army than *Walleſtein*'s, that he was not to be aſſaulted in his Trenches.

The King's Deſign appeared chiefly to be the Preſervation of the City; but that was not all: He had three Armies acting abroad in three ſeveral Places; *Guſtavus Horn* was on the *Moſel*, the Chancellor *Oxenſtern* about *Mentz*, *Cologn*, and the *Rhine*, Duke *William* and Duke *Bernard*, together with General *Bannier* in *Bavaria*: And though he deſigned they ſhould all join him, and had wrote to them all to that purpoſe, yet he did not haſten them, knowing that while he kept the main Army at Bay about *Noremberg*, they would without Oppoſition reduce thoſe ſeveral Countries they were acting in to his Power. This occaſioned his lying longer in the Camp at *Noremberg* than he would have done, and this occaſioned his giving the *Imperialiſts* ſo many Alarms by his ſtrong Parties of Horſe, of which he was well provided, that they might not be able to make any conſiderable Detachments for the Relief of their Friends: And here he ſhewed his Maſterſhip in the War; for by this means his Conqueſts went on as effectually as if he had been abroad himſelf.

In the mean Time, it was not to be expected two ſuch Armies ſhould lye long ſo near without ſome Action; the Imperial Army being Maſters of the Field, laid the Country for 20 Miles round *Noremberg* in a manner deſolate; what the Inhabitants could carry away had been before ſecured in ſuch ſtrong Towns as had Garriſons to protect them, and what was left, the hungry *Crabats* devoured, or ſet on Fire; but ſometimes they were

met with by our Men, who often paid them home for it. There had paſſed ſeveral ſmall Rencounters between our Parties and theirs; and as it falls out in ſuch Caſes, ſometimes one Side, ſometimes the other, got the better; but I have obſerved there never was any Party ſent out by the King's ſpecial Appointment, but always came home with Victory.

The firſt conſiderable Attempt, as I remember, was made on a Convoy of Ammunition: The Party ſent out was commanded by a *Saxon* Collonel, and conſiſted of a 1000 Horſe, and 500 Dragoons, who burnt above 600 Waggons, loaden with Ammunition and Stores for the Army, beſides taking about 2000 Muſquets which they brought back to the Army.

The latter end of *July* the King received Advice, that the *Imperialiſts* had formed a Magazine for Proviſion at a Town called *Freynſtat*, 20 Miles from *Noremberg*. Hither all the Booty and Contributions raiſed in the *Upper Palatinate*, and Parts adjacent, was brought and laid up as in a Place of Security; a Garriſon of 600 Men being placed to defend it; and when a Quantity of Proviſions was got together, Convoys were appointed to fetch it off.

The King was reſolved, if poſſible, to take or deſtroy this Magazine; and ſending for Collonel *Dubalt*, a *Swede*, and a Man of extraordinary Conduct, he tells him his Deſign, and withal, that he muſt be the Man to put it in Execution, and ordered him to take what Forces he thought convenient. The Collonel, who knew the Town very well, and the Country about it, told his Majeſty, he would attempt it with all his Heart; but he was affraid 'twould require ſome Foot to make the Attack; but we cant ſtay for that, ſays

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the King, you muſt then take ſome Dragoons with you, and immediately the King called for me. I was juſt coming up the Stairs, as the King's Page was come out to enquire for me; ſo I went immediately in to the King. Here is a Piece of hot Work for you, ſays the King, *Dubalt* will tell it you; go together and contrive it.

We immediately withdrew, and the Collonel told me the Deſign, and what the King and he had diſcourſed; that in his Opinion Foot would be wanted: But the King had declared there was no Time for the Foot to march, and had propoſed Dragoons. I told him, I thought Dragoons might do as well; ſo we agreed to take 1600 Horſe and 400 Dragoons. The King, impatient in his Deſign, came into the Room to us to know what we had reſolved on, approved our Meaſures, gave us Orders immediately; and turning to me, you ſhall command the Dragoons, ſays the King, but *Dubalt* muſt be General in this Caſe, for he knows the Country. Your Majeſty, ſaid I, ſhall be always ſerved by me in any Figure you pleaſe. The King wiſhed us good Speed, and hurried us away the ſame Afternoon, in order to come to the Place in Time. We marched ſlowly on becauſe of the Carriages we had with us, and came to *Freynſtat* about One a Clock in the Night perfectly undiſcoverd; the Guards were ſo negligent, that we came to the very Port before they had Notice of us, and a Serjeant with 12 Dragoons thruſt in upon the Out-Centinels, and killed them without Noiſe.

Immediately Ladders were placed to the Half-Moon which defended the Gate, which the Dragoons mounted and carried in a trice, about 28 Men being cut in Pieces within. As ſoon as the

Ravelin was taken, they burſt open the Gate, at which I entered at the Head of 200 Dragoons, and ſeized the Drawbridge. By this Time the Town was in Alarm, and the Drums beat to Arms, but it was too late; for by the help of a Petard we broke open the Gate, and entered the Town. The Garriſon made an obſtinate Fight for about half an Hour, but our Men being all in, and 3 Troops of Horſe diſmounted coming to our Aſſiſtance with their Carabines, the Town was entirely maſtered by Three of the Clock, and Guards ſet to prevent any Body running to give Notice to the Enemy. There were about 200 of the Garriſon killed, and the reſt taken Priſoners. The Town being thus ſecured, the Gates were opened, and Collonel *Dubalt* came in with the Horſe.

The Guards being ſet, we entered the Magazine where we found an incredible Quantity of all ſorts of Proviſion. There was 150 Tun of Bread, 8000 Sacks of Meal, 4000 Sacks of Oats, and of other Proviſions in Proportion. We cauſed as much of it as could be loaded to be brought away in ſuch Waggons and Carriages as we found, and ſet the reſt on Fire, Town and all; we ſtaid by it till we ſaw it paſt a Poſſibility of being ſaved, and then drew off with 800 Waggons, which we found in the Place, moſt of which we loaded with Bread, Meal and Oats. While we were doing this we ſent a Party of Dragoons into the Fields, who met us again as we came out, with above a 1000 Head of Black Cattle, beſides Sheep.

Our next Care was to bring this Booty home without meeting with the Enemy; to ſecure which, the Collonel immediately diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the

the King, to let him know of our Succeſs, and to deſire a Detachment might be made to ſecure our Retreat, being charged with ſo much Plunder.

And it was no more than Need; for tho' we had uſed all the Diligence poſſible to prevent any Notice, yet ſome body more forward than ordinary, had ſcap'd away and carried News of it to the *Imperial* Army. The General upon this bad News detaches Major General *Sparr*, with a Body of 6000 Men to cut off our Retreat. The King, who had Notice of this Detachment, marches out in Perſon with 3000 Men to wait upon General *Sparr*: All this was the Account of one Day; the King met General *Sparr* at the Moment when his Troops were divided, fell upon them, routed one Part of them, and the reſt in a few Hours after; killed them a 1000 Men, and took the General Priſoner.

In the Interval of this Action, we came ſafe to the Camp with our Booty, which was very conſiderable, and would have ſupplied our whole Army for a Month. Thus we feaſted at the Enemy's Coſt, and beat them into the Bargain.

The King gave all the live Cattle to the *Norembergers*, who, tho' they had really no want of Proviſions, yet freſh Meat was not ſo plentiful as ſuch Proviſions which were ſtored up in Veſſels and laid by.

After this Skirmiſh, we had the Country more at Command than before, and daily fetch'd in freſh Proviſions and Forage in the Fields.

The two Armies had now lain a long Time in ſight of one another, and daily Skirmiſhes had conſiderably weakened them; and the King beginning to be impatient, haſtened the Advancement of his Friends to join him, in which alſo they were not backward; but having drawn together

gether their Forces from ſeveral Parts, and all joined the Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, News came the 15th of *Auguſt*, that they were in full March to join us; and being come to a ſmall Town called *Brock*, the King went out of the Camp with about 1000 Horſe to view them. I went along with the Horſe, and the 21ſt of *Auguſt* ſaw the Review of all the Armies together, which were 30000 Men in extraordinary Equipage, old Soldiers, and commanded by Officers of the greateſt Conduct and Experience in the World. There was the rich Chancellor of *Sweden* who commanded as General, *Guſtavus Horn* and *John Bannier*, both *Swedes* and old Generals; Duke *William* and Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, the Palatine of *Birkenfelt*, and Abundance of Princes and Lords of the Empire.

The Armies being joined, the King who was now a Match for *Walleſtein*, quits his Camp and draws up in Battalia before the *Imperial* Trenches; but the Scene was changed; *Walleſtein* was no more able to fight now than the King was before; but keeping within his Trenches, ſtood upon his Guard. The King coming up cloſe to his Works, plants Batteries, and cannonaded him in his very Camp.

The *Imperialiſts* finding the King preſs upon them, retreat into a woody Country about three Leagues, and taking Poſſeſſion of an old ruin'd Caſtle, poſted their Army behind it.

This old Caſtle they fortified, and placed a very ſtrong Guard there. The King having viewed the Place, tho' it was a very ſtrong Poſt, reſolved to attack it with the whole right Wing. The Attack was made with a great deal of Order and Reſolution, the King leading the firſt Party on with Sword in Hand, and the Fight was maintained

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on both Sides with the utmoſt Gallantry and Obſtinacy all the Day and the next Night too; for the Cannon and Muſquet never gave over 'till the Morning; but the *Imperialiſts* having the Advantage of the Hill, of their Works and Batteries, and being continually relieved, and the *Swedes* naked, without Cannon or Works, the Poſt was maintained; and the King finding it would coſt him too much Blood, drew off in the Morning.

This was the famous Fight at *Attembergh*, where the *Imperialiſts* boaſted to have ſhewn the World the King of *Sweden* was not invincible. They call it the Victory at *Attembergh*; 'tis true, the King failed in his Attempt of carrying their Works, but there was ſo little of a Victory in it, that the *Imperial* General thought fit not to venture a ſecond Bruſh, but to draw off their Army as ſoon as they could to a ſafer Quarter.

I had no Share in this Attack, very few of the Horſe being in the Action; but my Comerade, who was always among the *Scots* Voluntiers was wounded and taken Priſoner by the Enemy. They uſed him very civilly, and the King and *Walleſtein* ſtraining Courteſies with one another, the King releaſed Major General *Sparr* without Ranſom, and the *Imperial* General ſent home Collonel *Tortenſon* a *Swede*, and 16 Voluntier Gentlemen who were taken in the Heat of the Action, among whom my Captain was one.

The King lay 14 Days facing the *Imperial* Army, and uſing all the Stratagems poſſible to bring them to a Battle, but to no purpoſe; during which Time, we had Parties continually out, and very often Skirmiſhes with the Enemy.

I had a Command of one of theſe Parties in an Adventure, wherein I got no Booty, nor much Honour. The King had received Advice of a Convoy

voy of Proviſions which was to come to the Enemy's Camp from the *Upper Palatinate*, and having a great Mind to ſurprize them, he commanded us to way-lay them with 1200 Horſe, and 800 Dragoons. I had exact Directions given me of the Way they were to come, and poſting my Horſe in a Village a little out of the Road, I lay with my Dragoons in a Wood, by which they were to paſs by break of Day. The Enemy appeared with their Convoy, and being very wary, their Out-Scouts diſcovered us in the Wood, and fired upon the Centinel I had poſted in a Tree at the Entrance of the Wood. Finding my ſelf diſcovered, I would have retreated to the Village where my Horſe were poſted, but in a Moment the Wood was skirted with the Enemy's Horſe, and a Thouſand commanded Muſqueteers advanced to beat me out. In this Pickle I ſent away three Meſſengers one after another for the Horſe, who were within two Miles of me, to advance to my Relief; but all my Meſſengers fell into the Enemy's Hands. 400 of my Dragoons on foot, whom I had plac'd at a little Diſtance before me, ſtood to their Work, and beat off two Charges of the Enemy's Foot with ſome Loſs on both Sides: Mean Time 200 of my Men fac'd about, and ruſhing out of the Wood, broke through a Party of the Enemy's Horſe who ſtood to watch our coming out. I confeſs I was exceedingly ſurprized at it, thinking thoſe Fellows had done it to make their Eſcape, or elſe were gone over to the Enemy; and my Men were ſo diſcouraged at it, that they began to look about which way to run to ſave themſelves, and were juſt upon the Point of disbanding to ſhift for themſelves, when one of the Captains called to me aloud to beat a Parle and Treat. I made no Anſwer, but, as if I had not heard him, immediately

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gave the Word for all the Captains to come together. The Conſultation was but ſhort, for the Muſqueteers were advancing to a third Charge, with Numbers which we were not likely to deal with. In-ſhort, we reſolved to beat a Parle, and demand Quarter, for that was all we could expect; when on a ſudden the Body of Horſe I had poſted in the Village being directed by the Noiſe, had advanced to relieve me, if they ſaw Occaſion, and had met the 200 Dragoons who guided them directly to the Spot where they had broke thro', and all together fell upon the Horſe of the Enemy who were poſted on that Side, and maſtering them before they could be relieved, cut them all to Pieces and brought me off. Under the Shelter of this Party, we made good our Retreat to the Village, but we loſt above 300 Men, and were glad to make off from the Village too, for the Enemy were very much too ſtrong for us.

Returning thence towards the Camp, we fell foul with 200 *Crabats* who had been upon the plundering Account: We made our ſelves ſome Amends upon them for our former Loſs, for we ſhew'd them no Mercy; but our Misfortunes were not ended, for we had but juſt diſpatch'd thoſe *Crabats* when we fell in with 3000 *Imperial* Horſe, who, on the Expectation of the aforeſaid Convoy, were ſent out to ſecure them.

All I could do, could not perſuade my Men to ſtand their Ground againſt this Party; ſo that finding they would run away in Confuſion, I agreed to make off, and facing to the Right, we went over a large Common a full Trot, 'till at laſt Fear, which always encreaſes in a Flight, brought us to a plain Flight, the Enemy at our Heels. I muſt confeſs I was never ſo mortified in my Life; 'twas to no Purpoſe to turn Head, no Man would

would ſtand by us, we run for Life, and a great many we left by the Way who were either wounded by the Enemy's Shot, or elſe could not keep Race with us.

At laſt having got over the Common, which was near two Miles, we came to a Lane; one of our Captains, a *Saxon* by Country, and a Gentleman of a good Fortune alighted at the Entrance of the Lane, and with a bold Heart faced about, ſhot his own Horſe, and called his Men to ſtand by him and defend the Lane. Some of his Men halted, and we rallied about 600 Men which we poſted as well as we could, to defend the Paſs; but the Enemy charged us with great Fury. The *Saxon* Gentleman, after defending himſelf with exceeding Gallantry and refuſing Quarter, was killed upon the Spot: A *German* Dragoon as I thought him, gave me a rude Blow with the Stock of his Piece on the Side of my Head, and was juſt going to repeat it, when one of my Men ſhot him dead. I was ſo ſtunn'd with the Blow, that I knew nothing; but recovering, I found my ſelf in the Hands of two of the Enemy's Officers, who offered me Quarter, which I accepted; and indeed, to give them their due, they uſed me very civilly. Thus this whole Party was defeated, and not above 500 Men got ſafe to the Army, nor had half the Number eſcaped, had not the *Saxon* Captain made ſo bold a Stand at the Head of the Lane.

Several other Parties of the King's Army revenged our Quarrel, and paid them home for it; but I had a particular Loſs in this Defeat, that I never ſaw the King after; for tho' his Majeſty ſent a Trumpet to reclaim us as Priſoners the very next Day, yet I was not delivered, ſome Scruple happening about exchanging, 'till after the

Battle

Battle of *Lutzen*, where that Gallant Prince loſt his Life.

The Imperial Army riſe from their Camp about eight or ten Days after the King had removed, and I was carried Priſoner in the Army 'till they ſat down to the Siege of *Coburgh Caſtle*, and then was left with other Priſoners of War, in the Cuſtody of Collonel *Spezuter*, in a ſmall Caſtle near the Camp called *Newſtad*. Here we continued indifferent well treated, but could learn nothing of what Action the Armies were upon, 'till the Duke of *Friedland* having been beaten off from the Caſtle of *Coburgh*, marched into *Saxony*, and the Priſoners were ſent for into the Camp, as was ſaid, in order to be exchanged.

I came into the Imperial Leager at the Siege of *Leipſick*, and within three Days after my coming, the City was ſurrendred, and I got Liberty to lodge at my old Quarters in the Town upon my Parole.

The King of *Sweden* was at the Heels of the *Imperialiſts*; for finding *Walleſtein* reſolved to ruin the Elector of *Saxony*, the King had recollected as much of his divided Army as he could, and came upon him juſt as he was going to beſiege *Torgau*.

As it it is not my Deſign to write a Hiſtory of any more of theſe Wars than I was actually concerned in, ſo I ſhall only note, that upon the King's Approach, *Walleſtein* halted, and likewiſe called all his Troops together; for he apprehended the King would fall on him; and we that were Priſoners, fancied the *Imperial* Soldiers went unwillingly out; for the very Name of the King of *Sweden* was become terrible to them. In ſhort, they drew all the Soldiers of the Garriſon they could ſpare, out of *Leipſick*, ſent for *Papenheim* again, who was gone but three Days before,

fore with 6000 Men on a private Expedition. On the 16th of *November*, the Armies met on the Plains of *Lutzen*; a long and bloody Battle was fought; the *Imperialiſts* were entirely routed and beaten, 12000 ſlain upon the Spot, their Cannon, Baggage and 2000 Priſoners taken, but the King of *Sweden* loſt his Life, being killed at the Head of his Troops in the Begining of the Fight.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the Conſternation the Death of this conquering King ſtruck into all the Princes of *Germany*; the Grief for him exceeded all Manner of human Sorrow: All People looked upon themſelves as ruined and ſwallowed up; the Inhabitants of two Thirds of all *Germany* put themſelves into Mourning for him; when the Miniſters mentioned him in their Sermons or Prayers, whole Congregations would burſt out into Tears: The Elector of *Saxony* was utterly inconſolable, and would for ſeveral Days walk about his Palace like a diſtracted Man, crying the Saviour of *Germany* was loſt, the Refuge of abuſed Princes was gone; the Soul of the War was dead, and from that Hour was ſo hopeleſs of out-living the War, that he ſought to make Peace with the Emperor.

Three Days after this mournful Victory, the *Saxons* recovered the Town of *Leipſick* by Stratagem. The Duke of *Saxony*'s Forces lay at *Torgau*, and perceiving the Confuſion the *Imperialiſts* were in at the News of the Overthrow of their Army, they reſolved to attempt the Recovery of the Town. They ſent about 20 ſcattering Troopers who pretending themſelves to be *Imperaliſts* fled from the Battle, were let in one by one, and ſtill as they came in, they ſtaid at the Court of Guard in the Port, entertaining the Souldiers with Diſcourſe about the Fight, and how they eſcaped, and

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the like; 'till the whole Number being got in at a Watch Word, they fell on the Guard, and cut them all in Pieces; and immediately opening the Gate to three Troops of *Saxon* Horſe, the Town was taken in a Moment.

It was a welcome Surpriſe to me, for I was at Liberty of Courſe; and the War being now on another Foot, as I thought, and the King dead, I reſolved to quit the Service.

I had ſent my Man, as I have already noted into *England*, in Order to bring over the Troops my Father had raiſed for the King of *Sweden*. He executed his Commiſſion ſo well, that he landed with five Troops at *Embden*, in very good Condition; and Orders were ſent them by the King, to join the Duke of *Lunenberg*'s Army; which they did at the Siege of *Boxtude*, in the Lower *Saxony*. Here by long and very ſharp Service they were moſt of them cut off, and though they were ſeveral Times recruited, yet I underſtood there were not three full Troops left.

The Duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, a Gentleman of great Courage, had the Command of the Army after the King's Death, and managed it with ſo much Prudence, that all things were in as much Order as could be expected, after ſo great a Loſs; for the *Imperialiſts* where every where beaten, and *Walleſtein* never made any Advantage of the King's Death.

I waited on him at *Hailbron*, whither he was gone to meet the great Chancellor of *Sweden*, where I paid him my Reſpects, and deſired he would beſtow the Remainder of my Regiment on my Comerade the Captain, which he did with all the Civility and Readineſs imaginable: So I took my Leave of him, and prepared to come for *England*.

I ſhall only note this, that at this Dyet, the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire renewed their League with one another, and with the Crown of *Sweden*, and came to ſeveral Regulations and Concluſions for the carrying on the War, which they afterwards proſecuted under the Direction of the ſaid Chancellor of *Sweden*. But it was not the Work of a ſmall Difficulty, nor of a ſhort Time; and having been perſwaded to continue almoſt two Years afterwards at *Frankfort*, *Hailbron*, and thereabout, by the particular Friendſhip of that noble wiſe Man, and extraordinary Stateſman *Axell Oxenſtern*, Chancellor of *Sweden*, I had Opportunity to be concerned in, and preſent at ſeveral Treaties of extraordinary Conſequence, ſufficient for a Hiſtory, if that were my Deſign.

Particularly I had the Happineſs to be preſent at, and have ſome Concern in the Treaty for the reſtoring the Poſterity of the truly noble *Palſgrave* King of *Bohemia*. King *James* of *England* had indeed too much neglected the whole Family; and I may ſay with Authority enough, from my own Knowledge of Affairs, had nothing been done for them but what was from *England*, that Family had remained deſolate and forſaken to this Day.

But that glorious King, whom I can never mention without ſome Remark of his extraordinary Merit, had left particular Inſtructions with his Chancellor to reſcue the *Palatinate* to its rightful Lord, as a Proof of his Deſign to reſtore the the Liberty of *Germany*, and reinſtate the oppreſſed Princes who were ſubjected to the Tyranny of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Chancellor proceeded very much like a Man of Honour; and tho' the King of *Bohemia* was dead a little before,

before, yet he carefully managed the Treaty, answered the Objections of several Princes, who, in the general Ruin of the Family, had reaped private Advantages, settled the Capitulations for the Quota of Contributions, very much for their Advantage, and fully reinstalled the Prince *Charles* in the Possession of all his Dominions in the *Lower Palatinate*, which afterwards was confirmed to him and his Posterity by the Peace of *West-Phalia*, where all these bloody Wars were finished in a Peace, which has since been the Foundation of the *Protestants* Liberty, and the best Security of the whole Empire.

I spent two Years rather in wandring up and down, than travelling; for tho' I had no Mind to serve, yet I could not find in my Heart to leave *Germany*; and I had obtained some so very close Intimacies with the General Officers, that I was often in the Army, and sometimes they did me the Honour to bring me into their Councils of War.

Particularly, at that eminent Council before the Battle of *Nordlingen*, I was invited to the Council of War, both by Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar*, and by *Gustavus Horne*. They were Generals of equal Worth, and their Courage and Experience had been so well, and so often tried, that more than ordinary Regard was always given to what they said. Duke *Bernard* was indeed the younger Man, and *Gustavus* had served longer under our Great Schoolmaster the King; but 'twas hard to judge which was the better General, since both had Experience enough, and shewn undeniable Proofs both of their Bravery and Conduct.

I am obliged, in the Course of my Relation, so often to mention the great Respect I often re-

ceived from theſe great Men, that it makes me ſometimes jealous, leaſt the Reader may think I affect it as a Vanity. The Truth is, and I am ready to confeſs the Honours I received, upon all Occaſions, from Perſons of ſuch Worth, and who had ſuch an eminent Share in the greateſt Action of that Age, very much pleaſed me; and particularly, as they gave me Occaſions to ſee every thing that was doing on the whole Stage of the War: For being under no Command, but at Liberty to rove about, I could come to no *Swediſh* Garriſon or Party, but ſending my Name to the commanding Officer I could have *the Word* ſent me; and if I came into the Army, I was often treated as I was now at this famous Battle of *Nordlingen*.

But I cannot but ſay, that I always looked upon this particular Reſpect to be the Effect of more than ordinary Regard the great King of *Sweden* always ſhewed me, rather than any Merit of my own; and the Veneration they all had for his Memory, made them continue to ſhew me all the Marks of a ſuitable Eſteem.

But to return to the Council of War, the great, and indeed the only Queſtion before us was, ſhall we give Battle to the *Imperialiſts*, or not? *Guſtavus Horn* was againſt it, and gave, as I thought, the moſt invincible Arguments againſt a Battle that Reaſon could imagine.

Firſt, They were weaker than the Enemy by above 5000 Men.

Secondly, The Cardinal Infant of *Spain*, who was in the *Imperial* Army with 8000 Men, was but there *en Paſſant*, being going from *Italy* to *Flanders*, to take upon him the Government of the *Low Countries*; and if he ſaw no Proſpect of immediate Action, would be gone in a few Days.

Thirdly, They had two Reinforcements, one of 5000 Men, under the Command of Collonel *Cratz*, and one of 7000 Men under the Rhinegrave, who were juſt at Hand, the laſt within three Days March of them: And

Laſtly, They had already ſaved their Honour, in that they had put 600 Foot into the Town of *Nordlingen*, in the Face of the Enemy's Army, and conſequently the Town might hold out ſome Days the longer.

Fate rather than Reaſon certainly blinded the reſt of the Generals againſt ſuch Arguments as theſe. Duke *Barnard* and almoſt all the Generals were for Fighting, alledging, the Affront it would be to the *Swediſh* Reputation, to ſee their Friends in the Town loſt before their Faces.

Guſtavus Horn ſtood ſtiff to his cautious Advice, and was againſt it; and I thought the Baron *D'Offkirk* treated him a little indecently; for being very warm in the Matter, he told them; *That if* Guſtavus Adolphus *had been governed by ſuch cowardly Council, he had never been Conqueror of half* Germany *in two Years. No,* replied old General *Horn*, very ſmartly, *But he had been now alive to have teſtified for me, that I was never taken by him for a Coward*; *and yet* ſays he, *the King was never for a Victory with a Hazard, when he could have it without.*

I was asked my Opinion, which I would have declined, being in no Commiſſion; but they preſſed me to ſpeak. I told them, I was for ſtaying at leaſt till the Rhinegrave came up; who at leaſt might, if Expreſſes were ſent to haſten him, be up with us in 24 Hours. But *Offkirk* could not hold his Paſſion, and had not he been over-rul'd, he would have almoſt quarrelled with Marſhal *Horn*. Upon which the old General, not

to foment him, with a great deal of Mildneſs ſtood up, and ſpoke thus.

Come, Offkirk, ſays he, *I'll ſubmit my Opinion to you and the Majority of our Fellow-Soldiers: We will fight, but upon my Word we ſhall have our Hands full.*

The Reſolution thus taken, they attacked the *Imperial* Army. I muſt confeſs the Councils of this Day ſeemed as confuſed as the Reſolutions of the Night.

Duke *Bernard* was to lead the Van of the Left Wing, and to poſt himſelf upon a Hill which was on the Enemy's Right without their Entrenchments; ſo that having ſecured that Poſt, they might level their Cannon upon the Foot who ſtood behind the Lines, and relieved the Town at Pleaſure. He marched accordingly by Break of Day, and falling with great Fury upon 8 Regiments of Foot which were poſted at the Foot of the Hill, he preſently routed them and made himſelf Maſter of the Poſt. Fluſhed with this Succeſs, he never regards his own concerted Meaſures of ſtopping there, and poſſeſſing what he had got, but puſhes on and falls in with the Main Body of the Enemy's Army.

While this was doing, *Guſtavus Horn* attacks another Poſt on a Hill, were the *Spaniards* had poſted and lodged themſelves behind ſome Works they had caſt up on the ſide of the Hill; here they defended themſelves with extreme Obſtinacy for five Hours, and at laſt obliged the *Swedes* to give it over with Loſs. This extraordinary Gallantry of the *Spaniards* was the ſaving of the *Imperial* Army; for Duke *Barnard* having all this while reſiſted the frequent Charges of the *Imperialiſts*, and borne the Weight of two Thirds

Thirds of their Army, was not able to ſtand any longer, but ſending one Meſſenger in the Neck of another to *Guſtavus Horn* for more Foot, he finding he could not carry his Point, had given it over, and was in full March to ſecond the Duke. But now 'twas too late; for the King of *Hungary* ſeeing the Duke's Men as it were wavering, and having Notice of *Horn*'s wheeling about to ſecond him, falls in with all his Force upon his Flank, and with his *Hungarian* Huſſars, made ſuch a furious Charge, that the *Swedes* could ſtand no longer.

The Rout of the Left Wing was ſo much the more unhappy, as it happened juſt upon *Guſtavus Horn*'s coming up; for being puſhed on with the Enemies at their Heels, they were driven upon their own Friends, who having no Ground, to open, and give them way, were trodden down by their own run-away Brethren. This brought all into the utmoſt Confuſion. The *Imperialiſts* cried *Victoria*, and fell into the Middle of the Infantry with a terrible Slaughter.

I have always obſerved, 'tis fatal to upbraid an old experienced Officer with want of Courage. If *Guſtavus Horn* had not been whetted with the Reproaches of the Baron *D'Offkirk*, and ſome of the other General Officers, I believe it had ſaved the Lives of a 1000 Men; for when all was thus loſt, ſeveral Officers adviſed him to make a Retreat with ſuch Regiments as he had yet unbroken; but nothing could perſwade him to ſtir a Foot: But turning his Flank into a Front, he ſaluted the Enemy as they paſs'd by him in Purſuit of the reſt, with ſuch terrible Volleys of ſmall Shot, as coſt them the Lives of Abundance of their Men.

The *Imperialiſts*, eager in the Purſuit, left him unbroken, till the *Spaniſh* Brigade came up and charged him: Theſe he bravely repulſed with a great Slaughter, and after them a Body of Dragoons; till being laid at on every Side, and moſt of his Men killed, the brave old General, with all the reſt who were left, were made Priſoners.

The *Swedes* had a terrible Loſs here; for almoſt all their Infantry were killed or taken Priſoners. *Guſtavus Horn* refuſed Quarter ſeveral times; and ſtill thoſe that attacked him were cut down by his Men, who fought like Furies, and by the Example of their General, behaved themſelves like Lions. But at laſt, theſe poor Remains of a Body of the braveſt Men in the World were forced to ſubmit. I have heard him ſay, he had much rather have died than been taken, but that he yeilded in Compaſſion to ſo many brave Men as were about him; for none of them would take Quarter till he gave his Conſent.

I had the worſt Share in this Battle that ever I had in any Action of my Life; and that was to be poſted among as brave a Body of Horſe as any in *Germany*, and yet not be able to ſuccour our own Men; but our Foot were cut in Pieces (as it were) before our Faces; and the Situation of the Ground was ſuch as we could not fall in. All that we were able to do, was to carry off about 2000 of the Foot, who running away in the Rout of the Left Wing, rallied among our Squadrons, and got away with us. Thus we ſtood till we ſaw all was loſt, and then made the beſt Retreat we could to ſave our ſelves, ſeveral Regiments having never charged, nor fired a Shot; for the Foot had ſo embaraſſed themſelves among the Lines and Works of the Enemy, and in the Vine-

yards

yards and Mountains, that the Horſe were rendered abſolutely unſerviceable.

The Rhinegrave had made ſuch Expedition to join us, that he reached within three Miles of the Place of Action that Night, and he was a great Saſeguard for us in rallying our diſperſed Men, who elſe had fallen into the Enemy's Hands, and in checking the Purſuit of the Enemy.

And indeed, had but any conſiderable Body of the Foot made an orderly Retreat, it had been very probable they had given the Enemy a Bruſh that would have turned the Scale of Victory; for our Horſe being whole, and in a manner untouched, the Enemy found ſuch a Check in the Purſuit, that 1600 of their forwardeſt Men following too eagerly, fell in with the Rhinegrave's advanced Troops the next Day, and were cut in Pieces without Mercy.

This gave us ſome Satisfaction for the Loſs, but it was but ſmall compared to the Ruin of that Day. We loſt near 8000 Men upon the Spot, and above 3000 Priſoners, all our Cannon and Baggage, and 120 Colours. I thought I never made ſo indifferent a Figure in my Life, and ſo we thought all; to come away, loſe our Infantry, our General, and our Honour, and never fight for it. Duke *Barnard* was utterly diſconſolate for old *Guſtavus Horn*; for he concluded him killed; he tore the Hair from his Head like a mad Man, and telling the Rhinegrave the Story of the Council of War, would reproach himſelf with not taking his Advice, often repeating it in his Paſſion, *'Tis I*, ſaid he, *have been the Death of the braveſt General* in Germany; would call himſelf Fool and Boy, and ſuch Names, for not liſtening to the Reaſons of an old experienced Soldier. But

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when he heard he was alive in the Enemy's Hands, he was the eaſier, and applied himſelf to the recruting his Troops, and the like Buſineſs of the War; and it was not long before he paid the *Imperialiſts* with Intereſt.

I returned to *Frankfort au Main* after this Action, which happened the 17th of *Auguſt* 1634; but the Progreſs of the *Imperialiſts* was ſo great, that there was no ſtaying at *Frankfort*. The Chancellor *Oxenſtern* removed to *Magdeburg*, Duke *Barnard* and the Landgrave marched into *Alſatia*, and the *Imperialiſts* carried all before them, for all the reſt of the Campaign: They took *Philipsburgh* by Surprize; they took *Ausburgh* by Famine, *Spire* and *Treves* by Sieges, taking the Elector Priſoner. But this Succeſs did one Piece of Service to the *Swedes*, that it brought the *French* into the War on their Side; for the Elector of *Treves* was their Confederate. The *French* gave the Conduct of the War to Duke *Barnard*. This, though the Duke of *Saxony* fell off, and fought againſt them, turned the Scale ſo much in their Favour, that they recovered their Loſſes, and proved a Terror to all *Germany*. The farther Accounts of the War I refer to the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, which I have ſince read with a great deal of Delight.

I confeſs, when I ſaw the Progreſs of the *Imperial* Army after the Battle of *Nordlingen*, and the Duke of *Saxony* turning his Arms againſt them, I thought their Affairs declining; and giving them over for loſt, I left *Frankfort*, and came down the Rhine to *Cologn*, and from thence into *Holland*.

I came to the *Hague* the 8th of *March* 1635, having ſpent three Years and a half in *Germany* and the greateſt Part of it in the *Swediſh* Army.

I ſpent

I ſpent ſome Time in *Holland* viewing the wonderful Power of Art which I obſerved in the Fortifications of their Towns, where the very Baſtions ſtand on bottomleſs Moraſſes, and yet are as firm as any in the World. There I had the Opportunity to ſee the *Dutch* Army, and their famous General Prince *Maurice*. 'Tis true, the Men behaved themſelves well enough in Action, when they were put to it, but the Prince's way of beating his Enemies without Fighting, was ſo unlike the Gallantry of my Royal Inſtructer, that it had no manner of Reliſh with me. Our way in *Germany* was always to ſeek out the Enemy and fight him; and, give the *Imperialiſts* their due, they were ſeldom hard to be found, but were as free of their Fleſh as we were.

Whereas Prince *Maurice* would lye in a Camp till he ſtarved half his Men, if by lying there he could but ſtarve two Thirds of his Enemies; ſo that indeed the War in *Holland* had more of Fatigues and Hardſhips in it, and ours had more of Fighting and Blows: Haſty Marches, long and unwholeſome Encampments, Winter Parties, Counter-marching, Dodging, and Entrenching, were the Excerciſes of his Men, and often times killed him more Men with Hunger, Cold, and Diſeaſes, than he could do with Fighting: Not that it required leſs Courage, but rather more; for a Soldier had at any time rather die in the Field *a la Coup de Mouſquet*, than be ſtarved with Hunger, or frozen to Death in the Trenches.

Nor do I think I leſſen the Reputation of that Great General; for tis moſt certain he ruined the *Spaniard* more by ſpinning the War thus out in Length, than he could poſſibly have done by a ſwift

a ſwift Conqueſt: For had he, *Guſtavus* like, with a Torrent of Victory diſlodged the *Spaniard* of all the 12 Provinces in 5 Years, whereas he was 40 Years, a beating them out of 7, he had left them rich and ſtrong at Home, and able to keep them in conſtant Apprehenſions of a Return of his Power: Whereas, by the long Continuance of the War, he ſo broke the very Heart of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſo abſolutely and irrecoverably impoveriſhed them, that they have ever ſince languiſhed of the Diſeaſe, till they are fallen from the moſt powerful, to be the moſt deſpicable Nation in the World.

The prodigious Charge the King of *Spain* was at in loſing the Seven Provinces, broke the very Spirit of the Nation; and that ſo much, that all the Wealth of their *Peruvian* Mountains have not been able to retrieve it; King *Philip* having often declared, that War, beſides his Armada for invading *England*, had coſt him 370 Millions of Ducats, and 4000000 of the beſt Soldiers in *Europe*; whereof, by an unreaſonable *Spaniſh* Obſtinacy, above Sixty Thouſand loſt their Lives before *Oſtend*, a Town not worth a ſixth Part, either of the Blood or Money it coſt in a Siege of three Years; and which at laſt he had never taken, but that Prince *Maurice* thought it not worth the Charge of defending it any longer.

However, I ſay, their Way of fighting in *Holland* did not reliſh with me at all. The Prince lay a long time before a little Fort called *Shenkſcans*, which the *Spaniard* took by Surprize, and I thought he might have taken it much ſooner. Perhaps it might be my Miſtake; but I fancied my Heroe, the King of *Sweden*, would have carried it Sword in Hand, in Half the Time.

How-

However it was, I did not like it; ſo in the latter End of the Year I came to the *Hague*, and took Shipping for *England*, where I arrived, to the great Satisfaction of my Father and all my Friends.

My Father was then in *London*, and carried me to kiſs the King's Hand. His Majeſty was pleaſed to received me very well, and to ſay a great many very obliging things to my Father upon my Account.

I ſpent my Time very retired from Court, for I was almoſt wholly in the Country; and it being ſo much different from my Genius, which hankered after a warmer Sport than Hunting among our *Welch* Mountains, I could not but be peeping in all the foreign Accounts from *Germany*, to ſee who and who was together. There I could never hear of a Battle, and the *Germans* being beaten, but I began to wiſh my ſelf there. But when an Account came of the Progreſs of *John Bannier*, the *Swediſh* General in *Saxony*, and of the conſtant Victories he had there over the *Saxons*, I could no longer contain my ſelf, but told my Father this Life was very diſagreeable to me; that I loſt my Time here, and might to much more Advantage go into *Germany*, where I was ſure I might make my Fortune upon my own Terms: That, as young as I was, I might have been a General Officer by this Time, if I had not laid down my Commiſſion: That General *Bannier*, or the Marſhal *Horn*, had either of them ſo much Reſpect for me, that I was ſure I might have any thing of them: And that if he pleaſed to give me Leave, I would go for *Germany* again. My Father was very unwilling to let me go, but ſeeing me uneaſy, told me, that if I was reſolv'd,

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he would oblige me to ſtay no longer in *England* than the next Spring, and I ſhould have his Conſent.

The Winter following began to look very unpleaſant upon us in *England*, and my Father uſed often to ſigh at it; and would tell me ſometimes, he was afraid we ſhould have no need to ſend *Engliſhmen* to fight in *Germany*.

The Cloud that ſeemed to threaten moſt was from *Scotland*. My Father, who had made himſelf Maſter of the Arguments on both Sides, uſed to be often ſaying, he feared there was ſome about the King who exaſperated him too much againſt the *Scots*, and drove things too high. For my part, I confeſs I did not much trouble my Head with the Cauſe; but all my Fear was, they would not fall out, and we ſhould have no Fighting. I have often reflected ſince, that I ought to have known better, that had ſeen how the moſt flouriſhing Provinces of *Germany* were reduced to the moſt miſerable Condition that ever any Country in the World was, by the Ravagings of Soldiers, and the Calamities of War.

How much ſoever I was to blame, yet ſo it was, I had a ſecret Joy at the News of the King's raiſing an Army, and nothing could have with-held me from appearing in it; but my Eagerneſs was anticipated by an Expreſs the King ſent to my Father, to know if his Son was in *England*; and my Father having ordered me to carry the Anſwer my ſelf, I waited upon his Majeſty with the Meſſenger. The King received me with his uſual Kindneſs, and asked me if I was willing to ſerve him againſt the *Scots*?

I anſwered, I was ready to ſerve him againſt any that his Majeſty thought fit to account his Enemies,

Enemies, and ſhould count it an Honour to receive his Commands. Hereupon his Majeſty offered me a Commiſſion. I told him, I ſuppoſed there would not be much Time for raiſing of Men; that if his Majeſty pleaſed I would be at the Rendezvous with as many Gentlemen as I could get together, to ſerve his Majeſty as Voluntiers.

The Truth is, I found all the Regiments of Horſe the King deſigned to raiſe, were but two, as Regiments; the reſt of the Horſe were ſuch as the Nobility raiſed in their ſeveral Counties, and commanded them themſelves; and, as I had commanded a Regiment of Horſe abroad, it looked a little odd to ſerve with a ſingle Troop at home; and the King took the thing preſently. *Indeed 'twill be a Voluntier War*, ſaid the King, *for the Northern Gentry have ſent me an Account of above* 4000 *Horſe they have already.* I bowed, and told his Majeſty I was glad to hear his Subjects were ſo forward to ſerve him; ſo taking his Majeſty's Orders to be at *York* by the End of *March*, I returned to my Father.

My Father was very glad I had not taken a Commiſſion, for I know not from what kind of Emulation between the Weſtern and Northern Gentry. The Gentlemen of our Side were not very forward in the Service; their Loyalty to the King in the ſucceeding Times made it appear it was not from any Diſaffection to his Majeſty's Intereſt or Perſon, or to the Cauſe; but this however made it difficult for me when I came home, to get any Gentleman of Quality to ſerve with me, ſo that I preſented my ſelf to his Majeſty only as a Voluntier, with eight Gentlemen, and about 36 Countrymen well mounted and armed.

And as it proved, theſe were enough, for this Expedition ended in an Accomodation with the *Scots*; and they not advancing ſo much as to their own Borders, we never came to any Action; but the Armies lay in the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Durham*, eat up the Country, and ſpent the King a vaſt Sum of Money, and ſo this War ended, a Pacification was made, and both Sides returned.

The Truth is, I never ſaw ſuch a deſpicable Appearance of Men in Arms to begin a War, in my Life; whether it was that I had ſeen ſo many braver Armies abroad that prejudiced me againſt them, or that it really was ſo; for to me they ſeemed little better than a Rabble met together to devour, rather than fight for their King and Country. There was indeed a great Appearance of Gentlemen, and thoſe of extraordinary Quality; but their Garb, their Equipages, and their Mein, did not look like War; their Troops were filled with Footmen and Servants, and wretchedly armed, God wot. I believe I might ſay, without Vanity, one Regiment of *Finland* Horſe would have made Sport at beating them all. There were ſuch Crouds of Parſons, (for this was a Church War in particular) that the Camp and Court was full of them; and the King was ſo eternally beſieged with Clergymen of one ſort or another, that it gave Offence to the chief of the Nobility.

As was the Appearance, ſo was the Service; the Army marched to the Borders, and the Head Quarter was at *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; but the *Scots* never appeared, no, not ſo much as their Scouts; whereupon the King called a Council of War, and there it was reſolved to ſend the Earl of *Holland* with a Party of Horſe into *Scotland*, to learn

learn ſome News of the Enemy; and truly the firſt News he brought us was, that finding their Army encamped about *Coldingham*, 15 Miles from *Berwick*, as ſoon as he appeared, the *Scots* drew out a Party to charge him, upon which moſt of his Men halted, I don't ſay run away, but 'twas next Door to it; for they could not be perſwaded to fire their Piſtols, and wheel off like Soldiers, but retreated in ſuch a diſorderly and ſhameful Manner, that had the Enemy but had either the Courage or Conduct to have followed them, it muſt have certainly ended in the Ruin of the whole Party.

THE SECOND PART.

I Confeſs, when I went into Arms at the Begining of this War, I never troubled my ſelf to examine Sides: I was glad to hear the Drums beat for Soldiers; as if I had been a meer *Swiſs*, that had not car'd which Side went up or down, ſo I had my Pay. I went as eagerly and blindly about my Buſineſs, as the meaneſt Wretch that liſted in the Army; nor had I the leaſt compaſſionate Thought for the Miſeries of my native Country, 'till after the Fight at *Edgehill*. I had known as much, and perhaps more than moſt in the Army, what it was to have an Enemy ranging in the Bowels of a Kingdom; I had ſeen the moſt flouriſhing Provinces of *Germany* reduced to perfect Deſarts, and the voracious *Crabats*, with inhuman Barbarity, quenching the Fires of the plundered Villages with the Blood of the Inhabitants. Whether this had hardened me againſt the natural Tenderneſs which I afterwards found return upon me, or not, I cannot tell; but I reflected upon my ſelf afterwards with a great deal of Trouble, for the Unconcernedneſs of my Temper at the approaching Ruin of my native Country.

I was

I was in the firſt Army at *York*, as I have already noted, and I muſt confeſs, had the leaſt Diverſion there that ever I found in an Army in my Life; for when I was in *Germany* with the King of *Sweden*, we uſed to ſee the King with the General Officers every Morning on Horſeback, viewing his Men, his Artillery, his Horſes, and always ſomething going forward: Here we ſaw nothing but Courtiers and Clergymen, Biſhops and Parſons, as buſy as if the Direction of the War had been in them; the King was ſeldom ſeen among us, and never without ſome of them always about him.

Thoſe few of us that had ſeen the Wars, and would have made a ſhort End of this for him, began to be very uneaſy; and particularly a certain Nobleman took the Freedom to tell the King, that the Clergy would certainly ruin the Expedition; *the Caſe was this* he would ha' had the King have immediately marched into *Scotland*, and put the Matter to the Trial of a Battle; and he urged it every Day; and the King finding his Reaſons very good, would often be of his Opinion; but next Morning he would be of another Mind.

This Gentleman was a Man of Conduct enough, and of unqueſtioned Courage, and afterwards loſt his Life for the King. He ſaw we had an Army of young ſtout Fellows, numerous enough; and tho' they had not yet ſeen much Service, he was for bringing them to Action, that the *Scots* might not have time to ſtrengthen themſelves; nor they have time by Idleneſs and Sotting, *the Bane of Soldiers*, to make themſelves unfit for any thing.

I was one Morning in Company with this Gentleman; and as he was a warm Man, and eager in his Diſcourſe, a Pox of theſe Prieſts, ſays he, 'tis for them the King has raiſed this Army, and

put his Friends to a vaſt Charge; and now we are come, they won't let us fight.

But I was afterwards convinced, the Clergy ſaw farther into the Matter than we did; they ſaw the *Scots* had a better Army than we had; bold and ready, commanded by brave Officers; and they foreſaw, that if we fought, we ſhould be beaten, and if beaten, they were undone. And 'twas very true, we had all been ruined, if we had engaged.

It is true, when we came to the Pacification which followed, I confeſs I was of the ſame Mind the Gentleman had been of; for we had better have fought, and been beaten, than have made ſo diſhonourable a Treaty, without ſtriking a Stroke. This Pacification ſeems to me to have laid the Scheme of all the Blood and Confuſion which followed in the Civil War; for whatever the King and his Friends might pretend to do by talking big, the *Scots* ſaw he was to be bullied into any thing, and that when it came to the Puſh, the Courtiers never cared to bring it to Blows.

I have little or nothing, to ſay as to Action, in this Mock-Expedition. The King was perſwaded at laſt to march to *Berwick*; and as I have ſaid already, a Party of Horſe went out to learn News of the *Scots*, and as ſoon as they ſaw them, run away from them, bravely.

This made the *Scots* ſo inſolent, that whereas before they lay encamped behind a River, and never ſhewed themſelves, in a ſort of modeſt Deference to their King, which was the Pretence of not being Aggreſſors or Invaders, only arming in their own Defence; now, having been invaded by the *Engliſh* Troops entring *Scotland*, they had what they wanted: And to ſhew it was not Fear that reſtrained them before, but Policy, now they

they came up in Parties to our very Gates, braving, and facing us every Day.

I had, with more Curioſity than Diſcretion, put my ſelf as a Voluntier at the Head of one of our Parties of Horſe, under my Lord *Holland*, when they went out to diſcover the Enemy; they went, they ſaid, to ſee what the *Scots* were a-doing.

We had not marched far, but our Scouts brought Word, they had diſcovered ſome Horſe, but could not come up to them, becauſe a River parted them. At the Heels of theſe came another Party of our Men upon the Spur to us, and ſaid the Enemy was behind, which might be true, for ought we knew; but it was ſo far behind, that no Body could ſee them; and yet the Country was plain and open for above a Mile before us: Hereupon we made a Halt, and indeed I was afraid 'twould have been an odd Sort of a Halt; for our Men began to look one upon another, as they do in like Caſes, when they are going to break; and when the Scouts came galloping in, the Men were in ſuch Diſorder, that had but one Man broke way, I am ſatisfied they had all run for it.

I found my Lord *Holland* did not perceive it; but after the firſt Surprize was a little over, I told my Lord what I had obſerved; and that unleſs ſome Courſe was immediately taken, they would all run at the firſt Sight of the Enemy. I found he was much concerned at it, and began to conſult what Courſe to take, to prevent it. I confeſs 'tis a hard Queſtion, how to make Men ſtand and face an Enemy, when Fear has poſſeſſed their Minds with an Inclination to run away: But I'll give that Honour to the Memory of that noble Gentleman, who tho' his Experience in Matters of War was ſmall, having never been in much Ser-

vice; yet his Courage made amends for it; for I dare ſay he would not have turned his Horſe from an Army of Enemies, nor have ſaved his Life at the Price of running away for it.

My Lord ſoon ſaw, as well as I, the Fright the Men were in, after I had given him a Hint of it; and to encourage them, rode thro' their Ranks, and ſpoke chearfully to them, and uſed what Arguments he thought proper to ſettle their Minds I remembred a Saying which I had heard old Marſhal *Guſtavus Horn* ſpeak in *Germany*, If you find your Men faulter, or in Doubt, never ſuffer them to halt, but keep them advancing; for while they are going forward, it keeps up their Courage.

As ſoon as I could get Opportunity to ſpeak to him, I gave him this as my Opinion. That's very well, ſays my Lord, but I am ſtudying, ſays he, to poſt them ſo as that they can't run if they would; and if they ſtand but once to face the Enemy, I do'nt fear them afterwards.

While we were diſcourſing thus, Word was brought, that ſeveral Parties of the Enemies were ſeen on the farther Side of the River, upon which my Lord gave the Word to march, and as we were marching on, my Lord calls out a Lieutenant who had been an old Soldier, with only five Troopers whom he had moſt Confidence in; and having given him his Leſſon, he ſends him away; in a Quarter of an Hour, one of the five Troopers comes back galloping and hallowing, and tells us his Lieutenant had with his ſmall Party beaten a Party of 20 of the Enemy's Horſe over the River, and had ſecured the Paſs, and deſired my Lord would march up to him immediately.

'Tis a ſtrange thing that Mens Spirits ſhould be ſubjected to ſuch ſudden Changes, and capable of ſo much Alteration from Shadows of things.

They

They were for running before they ſaw the Enemy; now they are in haſte to be led on, and but that in raw Men we are obliged to bear with any thing, the Diſorder in both was intolerable.

The Story was a premeditated Sham, and not a Word of Truth in it, invented to raiſe their Spirits, and cheat them out of their cowardly flegmatick Apprehenſions, and my Lord had his End in it; for they were all on Fire to fall on: And I am perſwaded, had they been led immediately into a Battle begun to their Hands, they would have laid about them like Furies; for there is nothing like Victory to fluſh a young Soldier. Thus while the Humour was high, and the Fermentation laſted, away we marched; and paſſing one of their great Commons which they call *Moors*, we came to the River, as he called it, where our Lieutenant was poſted with his four Men; 'twas a little Brook fordable with Eaſe, and leaving a Guard at the Paſs, we advanced to the Top of a ſmall Aſcent, from whence we had a fair View of the *Scots* Army, as they lay behind another River larger than the former.

Our Men were poſted well enough, behind a ſmall Encloſure, with a narrow Lane in their Front: And my Lord had cauſed his Dragoons to be placed in the Front to line the Hedges; and in this Poſture he ſtood viewing the Enemy at a Diſtance. The *Scots* who had ſome Intelligence of our coming, drew out three ſmall Parties, and ſent them by different Ways to obſerve our Number; and forming a fourth Party, which I gueſſed to be about 600 Horſe, advanced to the Top of the Plain, and drew up to face us, but never offered to attack us.

One of the ſmall Parties making about 100 Men, one third Foot paſſes upon our Flank in View,

but out of reach; and as they marched, ſhouted at us, which our Men better pleaſed with that Work than with Fighting, readily enough anſwered, and would fain have fired at them for the Pleaſure of making a Noiſe; for they were too far off to hit them.

I obſerved that theſe Parties had always ſome Foot with them; and yet if the Horſe galloped, or puſhed on ever ſo forward, the Foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary Advantage.

Guſtavus Adolphus that King of Soldiers, was the firſt that I have ever obſerved found the Advantage of mixing ſmall Bodies of Muſqueteers among his Horſe; and had he had ſuch nimble ſtrong Fellows as theſe, he would have prized them above all the reſt of his Men. Theſe were thoſe they call *Highlanders*; they would run on Foot with their Arms, and all their Acoutrements, and keep very good Order too, and yet keep Pace with the Horſe, let them go at what Rate they would. When I ſaw the Foot thus interlined among the Horſe, together with the Way of ordering their flying Parties, it preſently occurred to my Mind, that here was ſome of our old *Scots*, come home out of *Germany*, that had the ordering of Matters; and if ſo, I knew we were not a Match for them.

Thus we ſtood facing the Enemy 'till our Scouts brought us Word the whole *Scots* Army was in Motion, and in full march to attack us; and though it was not true, and the Fear of our Men doubled every Object, yet 'twas thought convenient to make our Retreat. The whole Matter was, that the Scouts having informed them what they could, of our Strength; the 600 were ordered

to

to march towards us, and three Regiments of Foot were drawn out to ſupport the Horſe.

I know not whether they would have ventured to attack us, at leaſt before their Foot had come up; but whether they would have put it to the Hazard or no, we were reſolved not to hazard the Trial, ſo we drew down to the Paſs; and, as retreating looks ſomething like running away, eſpecially when an Enemy is at hand, our Men had much a-do to make there Retreat paſs for a March, and not a Flight; and, by their often looking behind them, any Body might know what they would have done if they had been preſſed.

I confeſs, I was heartily aſhamed when the *Scots* coming up to the Place where we had been poſted, ſtood and ſhouted at us. I would have perſwaded my Lord to have charged them, and he would have done it with all his Heart, but he ſaw it was not practicable; ſo we ſtood at gaze with them above 2 Hours, by which time their Foot were come up to them, and yet they did not offer to attack us. I never was ſo aſhamed of my ſelf in my Life; we were all diſpirited, the *Scots* Gentlemen would come out ſingle, within Shot of our Poſt, which in a time of War is always accounted a Challenge to any ſingle Gentleman, to come out and exchange a Piſtol with them, and no Body would ſtir; at laſt our old Lieutenant rides out to meet a *Scotchman* that came pickeering on his Quarter. This Lieutenant was a brave and a ſtrong Fellow, had been a Soldier in the *Low Countries*; and though he was not of any Quality, only a meer Soldier, had his Preferment for his Conduct. He gallops bravely up to his Adverſary, and exchanging their Piſtols, the Lieutenant's Horſe happened

to

to be killed. The *Scotchman* very generouſly diſmounts, and engages him with his Sword, and fairly maſters him, and carries him away Priſoner; and I think this Horſe was all the Blood was ſhed in that War.

The Lieutenant's Name thus conquered was *Engliſh*, and as he was a very ſtout old Soldier, the Diſgrace of it broke his Heart. The *Scotchman* indeed uſed him very generouſly; for he treated him in the Camp very courteouſly, gave him another Horſe, and ſet him at Liberty, *gratis*. But the Man laid it ſo to Heart, that he never would appear in the Army, but went home to his own Country and died.

I had enough of Party-making, and was quite ſick with Indignation at the Cowardiſe of the Men; and my Lord was in as great a Fret as I, but there was no Remedy; we durſt not go about to retreat, for we ſhould have been in ſuch Confuſion, that the Enemy muſt have diſcovered it: So my Lord reſolved to keep the Poſt, if poſſible, and ſend to the King for ſome Foot. Then were our Men ready to fight with one another who ſhould be the Meſſenger; and at laſt when a Lieutenant with 20 Dragoons was diſpatched, he told us afterwards he found himſelf an Hundred ſtrong before he was gotten a Mile from the Place.

In ſhort, as ſoon as ever the Day declined, and the Dusk of the Evening began to ſhelter the Deſigns of the Men, they dropt away from us one by one; and at laſt in ſuch Numbers, that if we had ſtayed till the Morning, we had not had 50 Men left, out of 1200 Horſe and Dragoons.

When I ſaw how 'twas, conſulting with ſome of the Officers, we all went to my Lord *Holland*, and

and preſſed him to retreat, before the Enemy ſhould diſcern the Flight of our Men; ſo he drew us off, and we came to the Camp the next Morning, in the ſhamefulleſt Condition that ever poor Men could do. And this was the End of the worſt Expedition ever I made in my Life.

To fight and be beaten, is a Caſualty common to a Soldier, and I have ſince had enough of it; but to run away at the Sight of an Enemy, and neither ſtrike or be ſtricken, this is the very Shame of the Profeſſion, and no Man that has done it, ought to ſhew his Face again in the Field, unleſs Diſadvantages of Place or Number make it tolerable, neither of which was our Caſe.

My Lord *Holland* made another March a few Days after, in hopes to retrieve this Miſcarriage; but I had enough of it, ſo I kept in my Quarters: And though his Men did not deſert him as before, yet upon the Appearance of the Enemy, they did not think fit to fight, and came off with but little more Honour than they did before.

There was no need to go out to ſeek the Enemy after this; for they came, as I have noted, and pitched in Sight of us, and their Parties came up every Day to the very Out-works of *Berwick*; but no Body cared to meddle with them: And in this Poſture things ſtood when the Pacification was agreed on by both Parties; which, like a ſhort Truce, only gave both Sides Breath to prepare for a new War more ridiculouſly managed than the former. When the Treaty was ſo near a Concluſion, as that Converſation was admitted on both Sides, I went over to the *Scotch* Camp to ſatisfy my Curioſity, as many of our *Engliſh* Officers did alſo.

I con-

I confeſs, the Soldiers made a very uncouth Figure, eſpecially the *Highlanders*: The Oddneſs and Barbarity of their Garb and Arms ſeemed to have ſomething in it remarkable.

They were generaly tall ſwinging Fellows; their Swords were extravagantly, and I think inſignificantly broad, and they carried great wooden Targets large enough to cover the upper part of their Bodies. Their Dreſs was as antique as the reſt; a at Cap on their Heads, called by them a Bonnet, long hanging Sleeves behind, and their Doublet, Breeches and Stockings, of a Stuff they called Plaid, ſtriped a-croſs red and yellow, with ſhort Cloaks of the ſame. Theſe Fellows looked, when drawn out, like a Regiment of *Merry Andrews* ready for *Bartholomew* Fair. They are in Companies all of a Name, and therefore call one another only by their Chriſtian Names, as *Jemy*, *Jockey*, that is *John*; and *Sawny*, that is, *Alexander*, and the like. And they ſcorn to be commanded but by one of their own Clan or Family. They are all Gentlemen, and proud enough to be Kings. The meaneſt Fellow among them is as tenacious of his Honour, as the beſt Nobleman in the Country, and they will fight, and cut one another's Throats for every trifling Affront.

But to their own Clans or Lairds, they are the willingeſt and moſt obedient Fellows in Nature. Give them their due, were their Skill in Excerciſes and Diſcipline proportioned to their Courage, they would make the braveſt Soldiers in the World. They are large Bodies, and prodigiouſly ſtrong; and two Qualities they have above other Nations, *viz.* hardy to endure Hunger, Cold, and Hardſhips, and wonderfully ſwift of Foot. The latter is ſuch an Advantage in the Field, that I know none like it; for if they conquer

quer, no Enemy can eſcape them; and if they run, even the Horſe can hardly overtake them. Theſe were ſome of them, who, as I obſerved before, went out in Parties with their Horſe.

There were three or four Thouſand of theſe in the *Scots* Army, armed only with Swords and Targets; and in their Belts ſome of them had a Piſtol, but no Muſquets at that time among them.

But there were alſo a great many Regiments of diſciplined Men, who by their carrying their Arms, looked as if they underſtood their Buſineſs, and by their Faces, that they durſt ſee an Enemy.

I had not been Half an Hour in their Camp, after the Ceremony of giving our Names, and paſſing their Out-Guards and Main Guard was over, but I was ſaluted by ſeveral of my Acquaintance; and in particular, by one who led the *Scotch* Voluntiers at the Taking the Caſtle of *Openheim*, of which I have given an Account. They uſed me with all the Reſpect they thought due to me, on Account of old Affairs, gave me the Word, and a Sergeant waited upon me whenever I pleaſed to go abroad.

I continued 12 or 14 Days among them, till the Pacification was concluded; and they were ordered to march home. They ſpoke very reſpectfully of the King, but I found were exaſperated to the laſt Degree at Arch-biſhop *Laud* and the *Engliſh* Biſhops, for endeavouring to impoſe the *Common-Prayer-Book* upon them; and they always talked with the utmoſt Contempt of our Soldiers and Army. I always waved the Diſcourſe about the Clergy, and the Occaſion of the War; but I could not but be too ſenſible what they ſaid of our Men was true; and by this I perceived they had an univerſal Intelligence

from

from among us, both of what we were doing, and what ſort of People we were that were doing it; and they were mighty deſirous of coming to Blows with us. I had an Invitation from their General, but I declined it, leſt I ſhould give Offence. I found they accepted the Pacification as a thing not likely to hold, or that they did not deſign ſhould hold; and that they were reſolved to keep their Forces on Foot, notwithſtanding the Agreement. Their whole Army was full of brave Officers, Men of as much Experience and Conduct as any in the World; and all Men who know any thing of the War, know good Officers preſently make a good Army.

Things being thus huddled up, the *Engliſh* came back to *York*, were the Army ſeparated, and the *Scots* went home to encreaſe theirs; for I eaſily foreſaw, that Peace was the fartheſt thing from their Thoughts.

The next Year the Flame broke out again, the King draws his Forces down into the North, as before, and Expreſſes were ſent to all the Gentlemen that had Commands, to be at the Place by the 15th of *July*. As I had accepted of no Command in the Army, ſo I had no Inclination at all to go; for I foreſaw there would be nothing but Diſgrace attend it. My Father obſerving ſuch an Alteration in my uſual Forwardneſs, asked me one Day, what was the Matter, that I, who uſed to be ſo forward to go into the Army, and ſo eager to run abroad to fight, now ſhewed no Inclination to appear when the Service of the King and Country called me to it? I told him, I had as much Zeal as ever for the King's Service, and for the Country too: But he knew a Soldier could not abide to be beaten; and being from thence a little more inquiſitive,

I told

I told him the Obſervations I had made in the *Scots* Army, and the People I had converſed with there; and, Sir, ſays I, aſſure your ſelf, if the King offers to fight them, he will be beaten; and I don't love to engage, when my Judgement tells me before-hand, I ſhall be worſted: And as I had foreſeen, it came to paſs; for the *Scots* reſolving to proceed, never ſtood upon the Ceremony of Aggreſſion, as before, but on the 20th of *Auguſt* they entered *England* with their Army.

However, as my Father deſired, I went to the King's Army, which was then at *York*, but not gotten all together: The King himſelf was at *London*; but upon this News takes Poſt for the Army, and advancing a Part of his Forces, he poſted the Lord *Conway* and Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, with a Brigade of Foot and ſome Horſe at *Newborn*, upon the River *Tine*, to keep the *Scots* from paſſing that River.

The *Scots* could have paſſed the *Tine* without Fighting; but to let us ſee that they were able to force their Paſſage, they fall upon this Body of Men; and notwithſtanding all the Advantages of the Place, they beat them from the Poſt, took their Baggage and two Pieces of Cannon, with ſome Priſoners. Sir *Jacob Aſtley* made what Reſiſtance he could; but the *Scots* charged with ſo much Fury, and being alſo over-powered, he was ſoon put into Confuſion. Immediately the *Scots* made themſelves Maſters of *Newcaſtle*, and the next Day of *Durham*, and laid thoſe two Counties under intolerable Contributions.

Now was the King abſolutely ruined; for among his own People the Diſcontents before were ſo plain, that had the Clergy had any Forecaſt, they would never have embroiled him

with the *Scots*, till he had fully brought Matters to an Understanding at Home: But the Case was thus: The King, by the good Husbandry of Bishop *Juxon*, his Treasurer, had a Million of ready Money in his Treasury, and upon that Account having no need of a Parliament, had not called one in 12 Years; and perhaps had never called another, if he had not by this unhappy Circumstance been reduced to a Necessity of it; for now this ready Money was spent in two foolish Expeditions, and his Army appeared in a Condition not fit to engage the *Scots*; the Detatchment under Sir *Jacob Astley*, which were of the Flower of his Men, had been routed at *Newburn*, and the Enemy had Possession of two entire Counties.

All Men blamed *Laud* for prompting the King to provoke the *Scots*, a headstrong Nation, and zealous for their own Way of Worship; and *Laud* himself found too late the Consequences of it, both to the whole Cause and to himself; for the *Scots*, whose native Temper is not easily to forgive an Injury, pursued him by their Party in *England*, and never gave it over, till they laid his Head on the Block.

The ruined Country now clamoured in his Majesty's Ears with daily Petitions, and the Gentry of other Neighbour Counties cry out for Peace and a Parliament. The King, embarassed with these Difficulties, and quite empty of Money, calls a Great Council of the Nobility at *York*, and demands their Advice, which any one could have told him before, would be to call a Parliament.

I cannot, without Regret, look back upon the Misfortune of the King, who, as he was one of the best Princes in his personal Conduct that

ever

ever reigned in *England*, had yet ſome of the greateſt Unhappineſſes in his Conduct as a King, that ever Prince had, and the whole Courſe of his Life demonſtrated it.

1. An impolitick Honeſty. His Enemies called it Obſtinacy: But as I was perfectly acquainted with his Temper, I cannot but think it was his Judgment, when he thought he was in the right to adhere to it as a Duty tho' againſt his Intereſt.

2. Too much Compliance when he was complying.

No Man but himſelf would have denied what at ſometimes he denied, and have granted what at other times he granted; and this Uncertainty of Counſel proceeded from two things.

1. The Heat of the Clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and for whom indeed he ruined himſelf.

2. The Wiſdom of his Nobility.

Thus when the Counſel of his Prieſts prevailed, all was Fire and Fury; the *Scots* were Rebels, and muſt be ſubdued; and the Parliament's Demands were to be rejected as exorbitant; but whenever the King's Judgment was led by the grave and ſteady Advice of his Nobility and Counſellors, he was always enclined by them to temperate his Meaſures between the two Extremes: And had he gone on in ſuch a Temper, he had never met with the Misfortunes which afterward attended him, or had ſo many Thouſands of his Friends loſt their Lives and Fortunes in his Service.

I am ſure, we that knew what it was to fight for him, and that loved him better than any of the Clergy could pretend to, have had many a Conſultation how to bring over our Maſter from

ſo eſpouſing their Intereſt, as to ruin himſelf for it; but 'twas in vain.

I took this Interval, when I ſat ſtill and only looked on, to make theſe Remarks, becauſe I remember the beſt Friends the King had were at this time of that Opinion. That 'twas an unaccountable Piece of Indiſcretion, to commence a Quarrel with the *Scots*, a poor and obſtinate People, for a Ceremony and Book of Church Diſcipline, at a time when the King ſtood but upon indifferent Terms with his People at Home.

The Conſequence was, it put Arms into the Hands of his Subjects to rebel againſt him; it embroiled him with his Parliament in *England*, to whom he was fain to ſtoop in a fatal and unuſual Manner to get Money, all his own being ſpent, and ſo to buy off the *Scots* whom he cou'd not beat off.

I cannot but give one Inſtance of the unaccountable Politicks of his Miniſters. If they overruled this unhappy King to it, with Deſign to exhauſt and impoveriſh him, they were the worſt of Traytors; if not, the groſſeſt of Fools. They prompted the King to equip a Fleet againſt the *Scots*, and to put on board it 5000 Land Men. Had this been all, the Deſign had been good, that while the King had faced the Army upon the Borders, theſe 5000 landing in the Frith of *Edinburgh* might have put that whole Nation into Diſorder. But in Order to this, they adviſe the King to lay out his Money in fitting out the biggeſt Ships he had, and the Royal Sovereign, the biggeſt Ship the World had ever ſeen, which coſt him no leſs than 100000 Pounds was now built, and fitted out for this Voyage.

This was the moſt incongruous and ridiculous Advice that could be given, and made us all believe

lieve we were betrayed, tho' we knew not by whom.

To fit out Ships of 100 Guns to invade *Scotland*, which had not one Man of War in the World, nor any open Confederacy with any Prince or State that had any Fleet! 'twas a moſt ridiculous thing. An Hundred Sail of *Newcaſtle* Colliers, to carry the Men with their Stores and Proviſions, and ten Frigates of 40 Guns each, had been as good a Fleet as Reaſon, and the Nature of the thing could ha' made tolerable.

Thus things were carried on, 'till the King, beggar'd by the Miſmanagement of his Counſels, and beaten by the *Scots*, was driven to the Neceſſity of calling a Parliament in *England*.

It is not my Deſign to enter into the Feuds and Brangles of this Parliament. I have noted, by Obſervations of their Miſtakes, who brought the King to this unhappy Neceſſity of calling them.

His Majeſty had tried Parliaments upon ſeveral Occaſions before, but never found himſelf ſo much embroiled with them but he could ſend them Home, and there was an End of it; but as he could not avoid Calling theſe, ſo they took Care to put him out of a Condition to diſmiſs them.

The *Scots* Army was now quartered upon the *Engliſh*. The Counties, the Gentry, and the Aſſembly of Lords at *York*, petitioned for a Parliament.

The *Scots* preſented their Demands to the King, in which it was obſerved, that Matters were concerted between them and a Party in *England*; and I confeſs, when I ſaw that, I began to think the King in an ill Caſe; for as the *Scots* pretended Grievances, we thought, the King redreſſing thoſe Grievances, they could ask no more; and there-

fore all Men adviſed the King to grant their full Demands. And whereas the King had not Money to ſupply the *Scots* in their March home, I know there were ſeveral Meetings of Gentlemen with a Deſign to advance conſiderable Sums of Money to the King to ſet him free, and in order to reinſtate his Majeſty, as before. Not that we ever adviſed the King to rule without a Parliament, but we were very deſirous of putting him out of the Neceſſity of calling them, at leaſt, juſt then.

But the Eighth Article of the *Scots* Demands expreſly required, That an *Engliſh* Parliament might be called to remove all Obſtructions of Commerce, and to ſettle Peace, Religion and Liberty; and in another Article they tell the King, the 24th of *September* being the Time his Majeſty appointed for the Meeting of the Peers, will make it too long e'er the Parliament meet.

And in another, That a Parliament was the only Way of ſettling Peace, and bringing them to his Majeſty's Obedience.

When we ſaw this in the Army, 'twas time to look about. Every body perceived that the *Scots* Army would call an *Engliſh* Parliament; and whatever Averſion the King had to it, we all ſaw he would be obliged to comply with it; and now they all began to ſee their Error, who adviſed the King to this *Scotch* War.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the Aſſembly of the Peers meet at *York*; and by their Advice a Treaty was begun with the *Scots*. I had the Honour to be ſent with the firſt Meſſage which was in Writing.

I brought it, attended with a Trumpet, and a Guard of 500 Horſe, to the *Scots* Quarters. I was ſtoped at *Darlington*, and my Errand being known, General *Leſly* ſent a *Scots* Major and 50 Horſe,

Horſe, to receive me, but would let neither my Trumpet or Guard ſet Foot within their Quarters. In this Manner, I was conducted to Audience in the Chapter-Houſe at *Durham*, where a Committee of *Scots* Lords who attended the Army, received me very courteouſly, and gave me their Anſwer in Writing alſo.

'Twas in this Anſwer that they ſhewed at leaſt to me their Deſign of embroiling the King with his *Engliſh* Subjects; they diſcourſed very freely with me, and did not order me to withdraw when they debated their private Opinions: They drew up ſeveral Anſwers but did not like them; at laſt, they gave me one which I did not receive; I thought it was too inſolent to be born with, as near as I can remember, it was thus.

The Commiſſioners of Scotland *attending the Service in the Army, do refuſe any Treaty in the City of* York.

One of the Commiſſioners who treated me with more Diſtinction than the reſt, and diſcourſed freely with me, gave me an Opportunity to ſpeak more freely of this than I expected.

I told them, if they would return to his Majeſty an Anſwer fit for me to carry, or if they would ſay they would not treat at all, I would deliver ſuch a Meſſage: But I entreated them to conſider the Anſwer was to their Sovereign, and to whom they made a great Profeſſion of Duty and Reſpect; and at leaſt they ought to give their Reaſons, why they declined a Treaty at *York*; and to name ſome other Place, or humbly to deſire his Majeſty to name ſome other Place: But to ſend Word they would not treat at *York*, I could deliver no ſuch Meſſage, for when put into *Engliſh* it would ſignify, they would not treat at all.

I uſed a great many Reaſons and Arguments with them on this Head: And at laſt, with ſome Diſ-

ficulty, obtained of them to give the Reaſon, which was the Earl of *Strafford*'s having the chief Command at *York*, whom they declared their mortal Enemy, he having declared them Rebels in *Ireland*.

With this Anſwer I returned. I could make no Obſervation in the ſhort time I was with them; for as I ſtaid but one Night, ſo I was guarded as a cloſe Priſoner all the while. I ſaw ſeveral of their Officers whom I knew, but they durſt not ſpeak to me; and if they would ha' ventured, my Guard would not ha' permitted them.

In this Manner I was conducted out of their Quarters to my own Party again, and having delivered my Meſſage to the King, and told his Majeſty the Circumſtances, I ſaw the King receive the Account of the haughty Behaviour of the *Scots* with ſome Regret; however it was his Majeſty's time now to bear, and therefore the *Scots* were comply'd with, and the Treaty appointed at *Rippon*; where, after much Debate, ſeveral preliminary Articles were agreed on, as a Ceſſation of Arms, *Quarters and Bounds to the Armies, Subſiſtence to the* Scots *Army*, and the Reſidue of the Demands was referred to a Treaty at *London*, *&c.*

We were all amazed at the Treaty, and I cannot but remember we uſed to wiſh much rather we had been ſuffered to fight; for tho' we had been worſted at firſt, the Power and Strength of the King's Intereſt which was not yet tried, muſt, in fine, ha' been too ſtrong for the *Scots*: Whereas now we ſaw the King was for complying with any thing, and all his Friends would be ruined.

I confeſs, I had nothing to fear, and ſo was not much concerned; but our Predictions ſoon came to paſs: For no ſooner was this Parliament called, but Abundance of thoſe who had embroiled their King with his People of both Kingdoms, like the

Diſci-

Diſciples, when their Maſter was betrayed to the *Jews, forſook him and fled*; and now Parliament Tyranny began to ſucceed Church Tyranny, and we Soldiers were glad ſee it at firſt: The Biſhops trembled, the Judges went to Goal; the Officers of the Cuſtoms were laid hold on; and the Parliament began to lay their Fingers on the great ones, particularly Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and the Earl of *Strafford*. We had no great Concern for the firſt, but the laſt was a Man of ſo much Conduct and Gallantry, and ſo beloved by the Soldiers and principal Gentry of *England*, that every Body was touched with his Misfortune.

The Parliament now grew mad in their Turn, and as the Proſperity of any Party is the time to ſhew their Diſcretion, the Parliament ſhewed they knew as little where to ſtop as other People. The King was not in a Condition to deny any thing, and nothing could be demanded but they puſh'd it. They attainted the Earl of *Strafford*, and thereby made the King cut off his right Hand, to ſave his left, and yet not ſave it neither: They obtain another Bill, to empower them to ſit during their own Pleaſure, and after them, Triennial Parliaments to meet, whether the King call them or no; and Granting this compleated his Majeſty's Ruin.

Had the Houſe only regulated the Abuſes of the Court, puniſhed evil Counſellours, and reſtor'd Parliaments to their original and juſt Powers, all had been well; and the King, tho' he had been more than mortified, had yet reaped the Benefit of future Peace; for now the *Scots* were ſent Home, after having eaten up two Counties, and received a prodigious Sum of Money to boot: And the King, tho' too late, goes in Perſon to *Edinburgh*, and grants them all they could deſire, and more

than they asked; but in *England*, the Desires of ours were unbounded, and drove at all Extremes.

They threw out the Bishops from sitting in the House, make a Protestation equivalent to the *Scotch* Covenant; and this done, print their Remonstrance. This so provoked the King, that he resolves upon seizing some of the Members, and in an ill Hour enters the House in Person to take them. Thus one imprudent thing on one Hand produced another of the other Hand, 'till the King was obliged to leave them to themselves, for fear of being mobbed into something or other unworthy of himself.

These Proceedings began to alarm the Gentry and Nobility of *England*; for however willing we were to have evil Counsellours removed, and the Government return to a settled and legal Course, according to the happy Constitution of this Nation, and might ha' been forward enough to have owned the King had been misled, and imposed upon to do things which he had rather had not been done; yet it did not follow, that all the Powers and Prerogatives of the Crown should devolve upon the Parliament, and the King in a Manner be deposed, or else sacrificed to the Fury of the Rabble.

The Heats of the House running them thus to all Extremes, and at last to take from the King the Power of the Militia, which indeed was all that was left to make him any thing of a King, put the King upon opposing Force with Force; and thus the Flame of Civil War began.

However backward I was in engaging in the second Year's Expedition against the *Scots*, I was as forward now; for I waited on the King at *York*, where a gallant Company of Gentlemen as ever were seen in *England*, engaged themselves to enter

ter into his Service; and here ſome of us formed our ſelves into Troops for the Guard of his Perſon.

The King having been waited upon by the Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, and having told them his Reſolution of erecting his Royal Standard, and received from them hearty Aſſurances of Support; diſmiſſes them, and marches to *Hull*, where lay the Train of Artillery, and all the Arms and Amunition belonging to the *Northern* Army which had been disbanded. But here the Parliament had been before-hand with his Majeſty, ſo that when he came to *Hull*, he found the Gates ſhut, and Sir *John Hotham* the Governour upon the Walls, tho' with a great deal of ſeeming Humility and Proteſtations of Loyalty to his Perſon, yet with a poſitive Denial to admit any of the King's Attendants into the Town. If his Majeſty pleaſed to enter the Town in Perſon with any reaſonable Number of his Houſhould, he would ſubmit, but would not be prevailed on to receive the King, as he would be received, with his Forces, tho' thoſe Forces were then but very few.

The King was exceedingly provoked at this Repulſe, and indeed it was a great Surprize to us all; for certainly never Prince began a War againſt the whole Strength of his Kingdom, under the Circumſtances that he was in. He had not a Garriſon, or a Company of Soldiers in his Pay, not a Stand of Arms, or a Barrel of Powder, a Muſquet, Cannon or Mortar, not a Ship of all the Fleet, or Money in his Treaſury to procure them; whereas the Parliament had all his Navy, and Ordinance, Stores, Magazines, Arms, Ammunition, and Revenue, in their Keeping. And this I take to be another Defect of the King's Counſel, and a ſad Inſtance of the Diſtraction o fhis Affairs; that when he ſaw how

all

all things were going to wreck, as it was impoſſible but he ſhould ſee it, and 'tis plain he did ſee it, that he ſhould not long enough before it came to Extremities, ſecure the Navy, Magazines, and Stores of War, in the Hands of his truſty Servants that would have been ſure to have preſerved them for his Uſe, at a Time when he wanted them.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, but the Gentry of *England*, who generally preſerved their Loyalty for their Royal Maſter, and at laſt heartily ſhewed it, were exceedingly diſcouraged at firſt, when they ſaw the Parliament had all the Means of making War in their own Hands, and the King was naked and deſtitute either of Arms, or Ammunition, or Money to procure them.

Not but that the King, by extraordinary Application, recovered the Diſorder the Want of theſe things had thrown him into, and ſupplied himſelf with all things needful.

But my Obſervation was this, had his Majeſty had the Magazines, Navy, and Forts in his own Hand, the Gentry, who wanted but the Proſpect of ſomething to encourage them, had come in at firſt, and the Parliament being unprovided, would have been preſently reduced to Reaſon.

But this was it that baulked the Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, who went home again, giving the King good Promiſes, but never appeard for him, till by raiſing a good Army in *Shropſhire* and *Wales*, he marched towards *London*, and they ſaw there was a Proſpect of their being ſupported.

In this Condition the King erected his Standard at *Nottingham*, *Auguſt* the 22d 1642, and, I confeſs, I had very melancholy Apprehenſions of the King's Affairs; for the Appearance to the

the Royal Standard was but ſmall. The Affront the King had met with at *Hull*, had baulked and diſpirited the Northern Gentry, and the King's Affairs looked with a very diſmal Aſpect. We had Expreſſes from *London* of the prodigious Succeſs of the Parliament's Levies, how their Men came in faſter than they could entertain them, and that Arms were delivered out to whole Companies liſted together, and the like: And all this while the King had not got together a Thouſand Foot, and had no Arms for them neither. When the King ſaw this, he immediately diſpatches five ſeveral Meſſengers, whereof one went to the Marqueſs of *Worceſter* into *Wales*; one went to the Queen, then at *Windſor*; one to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, then Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, into the *North*; one into *Scotland*, and one into *France*, where the Queen ſoon after arrived to raiſe Money, and buy Arms, and to get what Aſſiſtance ſhe could among her own Friends: Nor was her Majeſty idle, for ſhe ſent over ſeveral Ships laden with Arms and Ammunition, with a fine Train of Artillery, and a great many very good Officers; and though one of the firſt fell into the Hands of the Parliament, with 300 Barrels of Powder and ſome Arms, and 150 Gentlemen, yet moſt of the Gentlemen found Means, one Way or other, to get to us, and moſt of the Ships the Queen freighted arrived; and at laſt her Majeſty came her ſelf, and brought an extraordinary Supply, both of Men, Money, Arms, *&c.* with which ſhe joined the King's Forces under the Earl of *Newcaſtle* in the *North*. Finding his Majeſty thus beſtirring himſelf to muſter his Friends together, I ask'd him, if he thought it might not be for his Majeſty's Service to let me go among my Friends, and his loyal Subiects about

about *Shrewsbury*? Yes, ſays the King, ſmiling, I intend you ſhall, and I deſign to go with you my ſelf. I did not underſtand what the King meant then, and did not think it good Manners to enquire; but the next Day I found all things diſpoſed for a March, and the King on Horſeback by Eight of the Clock; when calling me to him, he told me I ſhould go before, and let my Father and all my Friends know, he would be at *Shrewsbury* the *Saturday* following. I left my Equipages, and taking Poſt with only one Servant, was at my Father's the next Morning by Break of Day. My Father was not ſurprized at the News of the King's coming at all; for, it ſeems, he, together with the loyal Gentry of thoſe Parts, had ſent particularly to give the King an Invitation to move that Way, which I was not made privy to; with an Account what Encouragement they had there in the Endeavours made for his Intereſt. In ſhort, the whole Country was entirely for the King, and ſuch was the univerſal Joy the People ſhewed when the News of his Majeſty's coming down was poſitively known, that all Manner of Buſineſs was laid aſide, and the whole Body of the People ſeemed to be reſolved upon the War.

As this gave a new Face to the King's Affairs, ſo I muſt own it filled me with Joy; for I was aſtoniſhed before, when I conſidered what the King and his Friends were like to be expoſed to. The News of the Proceedings of the Parliament, and their powerful Preparations were now no more terrible; the King came at the Time appointed, and having lain at my Father's Houſe one Night, entered *Shrewsbury* in the Morning. The Acclamations of the People, the Concourſe of the Nobility and Gentry about his Perſon,

ſon, and the Crouds which now came every Day in to his Standard, were incredible.

The Loyalty of the *Engliſh* Gentry was not only worth Notice, but the Power of the Gentry is extraordinary viſible in this Matter: The King, in about ſix Weeks time, which was the moſt of his Stay at *Shrewsbury*, was ſupplied with Money, Arms, Ammunition, and a Train of Artillery, and liſted a Body of an Army upwards of 20000 Men.

His Majeſty ſeeing the general Alacrity of his People, immediately iſſued out Commiſſions, and form'd Regiments of Horſe and Foot; and having ſome experienced Officers about him, together with about 16 who came from *France*, with a Ship loaded with Arms and ſome Field-pieces which came very ſeaſonably into the *Severn*; the Men were excerciſed, regularly diſciplined, and quartered, and now we began to look like Soldiers. My Father had raiſed a Regiment of Horſe at his own Charge, and compleated them, and the King gave out Arms to them from the Supplies which I mentioned came from Abroad. Another Party of Horſe, all brave ſtout Fellows, and well mounted, came in from *Lancaſhire*, and the Earl of *Derby* at the Head of them. The *Welchmen* came in by Droves; and ſo great was the Concourſe of People, that the King began to think of Marching, and gave the Command, as well as the Truſt of Regulating the Army, to the brave Earl of *Lindſey*, as General of the Foot. The Parliament General being the Earl of *Eſſex*, two braver men, or two better Officers, were not in the Kingdom; they had both been old Soldiers, and had ſerved together as Voluntiers, in the *Low Country* Wars, under Prince *Maurice*. They had been Comrades and Companions Abroad,

and now came to face one another as Enemies in the Field.

Such was the Expedition uſed by the King and his Friends, in the Levies of this firſt Army, that notwithſtanding the wonderful Expedition the Parliament made, the King was in the Field before them; and now the Gentry in other Parts of the Nation beſtirred themſelves, and ſiezed upon, and Garriſoned ſeveral conſiderable Places for the King. In the North, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* not only Garriſoned the moſt conſiderable Places, but even the general Poſſeſſion of the North was for the King, excepting *Hull*, and ſome few Places, which the old Lord *Fairfax* had taken up for the Parliament. On the other Hand, entire *Cornwall*, and moſt of the Weſtern Counties were the King's. The Parliament had their chief Intereſt in the South and Eaſtern Part of *England*, as *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Hertford*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and the other midland Counties. Theſe were called, or ſome of them at leaſt, the Aſſociated Counties, and felt little of the War, other than the Charges; but the main Support of the Parliament was the City of *London*. The King made the Seat of his Court at *Oxford*, which he cauſed to be regularly fortified. The Lord *Say* had been here, and had Poſſeſſion of the City for the Enemy, and was debating about fortifying it, but came to no Reſolution, which was a very great Overſight in them; the Situation of the Place, and the Importance of it, on many Accounts, to the City of *London*, conſidered; and they would have retrieved this Error afterwards, but then 'twas too late; for the King made it the Head Quarter, and received great Supplies and Aſſiſtance from the Wealth of the Colleges, and the Plenty

of

of the neighbouring Country. *Abingdon*, *Wallingford*, *Baſing* and *Reading*, were all Garriſoned and fortified as Outworks to defend this as the Center. And thus all *England* became the Theater of Blood, and War was ſpread into every Corner of the Country, though as yet there was no Stroke ſtruck. I had no Command in this Army; my Father led his own Regiment, and old as he was, would not leave his royal Maſter, and my elder Brother ſtaid at home to ſupport the Family. As for me, I rode a Voluntier in the royal Troop of Guards, which may very well deſerve the Title of a royal Troop; for it was compoſed of young Gentlemen Sons of the Nobility and ſome of the prime Gentry of the Nation, and I think not a Perſon of ſo mean a Birth or Fortune as my ſelf. We reckoned in this Troop Two and Thirty Lords, or who came afterwards to be ſuch, and Eight and Thirty of younger Sons of the Nobility, five *French* Noblemen, and all the reſt Gentlemen of very good Families and Eſtates.

And that I may give the due to their perſonal Valour, many of this Troop lived afterwards to have Regiments and Troops under their Command, in the Service of the King; many of them loſt their Lives for him, and moſt of them their Eſtates: Nor did they behave unworthy of themſelves in their firſt ſhewing their Faces to the Enemy, as ſhall be mentioned in its Place.

While the King remained at *Shrewsbury*, his loyal Friends beſtirred themſelves in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. *Goring* had ſecured *Portſmouth*; but being young in Matters of War, and not in Time relieved, though the Marqueſs of *Hertford* was marching to relieve him, yet he

was

was obliged to quit the Place, and ſhipped himſelf for *Holland*, from whence he returned with Relief for the King, and afterwards did very good Service upon all Occaſions, and ſo effectually cleared himſelf of the Scandal the haſty Surrender of *Portſmouth* had brought upon his Courage.

The chief Power of the King's Forces lay in three Places, in *Cornwall*, in *Yorkſhire*, and at *Shrewsbury*: In *Cornwall*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, afterwards Lord *Hopton*; Sir *Bevil Granvil* and Sir *Nicholas Slamming*, ſecured all the Country, and afterwards ſpread themſelves over *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, took *Exeter* from the Parliament, fortified *Bridgwater*, and *Barnſtable*, and beat Sir *William Waller* at the Battle of *Roundway Down*, as I ſhall touch at more particularly when I come to recite the Part of my own Travels that Way.

In the *North*, the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* ſecured all the Country, Garriſoned *York*, *Scarborough*, *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle Pomfret*, *Leeds*, and all the conſiderable Places, and took the Field with a very good Army, though afterwards he proved more unſucceſsful than the reſt, having the whole Power of a Kingdom at his Back, the *Scots* coming in with an Army to the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament; which indeed was the general Turn of the Scale of the War; for had it not been for this *Scots* Army, the King had moſt certainly reduced the Parliament, at leaſt to good Terms of Peace, in two Years time.

The King was the third Article: His Force at *Shrewsbury* I have noted already; the Alacrity of the Gentry filled him with Hopes, and all his Army with Vigour, and the 8th of *October* 1642, his Majeſty gave Orders to march. The Earl of *Eſſex* had ſpent above a Month after his leaving

ing *London* (for he went thence the 9th of *September*) in modelling and drawing together his Forces; his Rendezvous was at St. *Albans*, from whence he marched to *Northampton*, *Coventry*, and *Warwick*, and leaving Garriſons in them, he comes on to *Worceſter*. Being thus advanced, he poſſeſſes *Oxford*, as I noted before, *Banbury*, *Briſtol*; *Glouceſter*, and *Worceſter*, out of all which Places, except *Glouceſter*, we drove him back to *London* in a very little while.

Sir *John Biron* had raiſed a very good Party of 500 Horſe, moſt Gentlemen, for the King, and had poſſeſſed *Oxford*; but on the Approach of the Lord *Say* quitted it, being now but an open Town, and retreated to *Worceſter*: From whence, on the Approach of *Eſſex*'s Army, he retreated to the King. And now all things grew ripe for Action, both Parties having ſecured their Poſts, and ſettled their Schemes of the War, taken their Poſts and Places as their Meaſures and Opportunities directed, the Field was next in their Eye, and the Soldiers began to enquire when they ſhould fight; for as yet there had been little or no Blood drawn, and 'twas not long before they had enough of it; for I believe I may challenge all the Hiſtorians in *Europe* to tell me of any War in the World where, in the Space of four Years, there were ſo many pitched Battles, Sieges, Fights, and Skirmiſhes, as in this War; we never encamped or entrenched, never fortified the Avenues to our Poſts, or lay fenced with Rivers and Defiles; here was no Leaguers in the Field, as at the Story of *Noremberg*, neither had our Soldiers any Tents, or what they call heavy Baggage. 'Twas the general Maxim of this War, Where is the Enemy? Let us go and fight them: Or, on the other Hand, if the

Enemy was coming, what was to be done? Why, what ſhould be done? Draw out into the Fields, and fight them. I cannot ſay 'twas the Prudence of the Parties, and had the King fought leſs he had gained more: And I ſhall remark ſeveral times, when the Eagerneſs of Fighting was the worſt Counſel, and proved our Loſs. This Benefit however happened in general to the Country, that it made a quick, though a bloody End, of the War, which otherwiſe had laſted till it might have ruined the whole Nation.

On the 10th of *October* the King's Army was in full March, his Majeſty Generaliſſimo, the Earl of *Lindſey* General of the Foot, Prince *Rupert* General of the Horſe; and the firſt Action in the Field was by Prince *Rupert* and Sir *John Biron*. Sir *John* had brought his Body of 500 Horſe, as I noted already, from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*; the Lord *Say*, with a ſtrong Party, being in the Neighbourhood of *Oxford*, and expected in the Town, Collonel *Sandys*, a hot Man, and who had more Courage than Judgment, advances with about 1500 Horſe and Dragoons, with Deſign to beat Sir *John Biron* out of *Worceſter*, and take Poſt there for the Parliament.

The King had notice that the Earl of *Eſſex* deſigned for *Worceſter*, and Prince *Rupert* was ordered to advance with a Body of Horſe and Dragoons, to face the Enemy, and bring off Sir *John Biron*. This his Majeſty did to amuſe the Earl of *Eſſex*, that he might expect him that Way; whereas the King's Deſign was to get between the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army and the City of *London*; and his Majeſty's End was doubly anſwered; for he not only drew *Eſſex* on to *Worceſter*, where he ſpent more Time than he needed, but he beat the Party into the Bargain.

I went

I went Voluntier in this Party, and rid in my Father's Regiment; for though we really expected not to ſee the Enemy, yet I was tired with lying ſtill. We came to *Worceſter* juſt as Notice was brought to Sir *John Biron*, that a Party of the Enemy was on their March for *Worceſter*, upon which the Prince immediately conſulting what was to be done, reſolves to march the next Morning, and fight them.

The Enemy, who lay at *Perſhore*, about eight Miles from *Worceſter*, and, as I believe, had no Notice of our March, came on very confidently in the Morning, and found us fairly drawn up to receive them: I muſt confeſs this was the blunteſt downright Way of making War that ever was ſeen. The Enemy, who, in all the little Knowledge I had of War ought to have diſcovered our Numbers, and gueſſed by our Poſture what our Deſign was, might eaſily have informed themſelves, that we intended to attack them, and ſo might have ſecured the Advantage of a Bridge in their Front; but without any Regard to theſe Methods of Policy, they came on at all Hazards. Upon this Notice, my Father propoſed to the Prince, to halt for them, and ſuffer ourſelves to be attacked, ſince we found them willing to give us the Advantage: The Prince approved of the Advice, ſo we halted within View of a Bridge, leaving Space enough on our Front for about half the Number of their Forces to paſs and draw up; and at the Bridge was poſted about 50 Dragoons, with Orders to retire as ſoon as the Enemy advanced, as if they had been afraid. On the Right of the Road was a Ditch, and a very high Bank behind, where we had placed 300 Dragoons, with Orders to lye flat on their Faces till the Enemy had

paſſed the Bridge, and to let fly among them as ſoon as our Trumpets ſounded a Charge. No Body but Collonel *Sandys* would have been caught in ſuch a Snare; for he might eaſily have ſeen, that when he was over the Bridge, there was not Room enough for him to fight in: But the Lord of Hoſts was ſo much in their Mouths, *for that was the Word for that Day*, that they took little heed how to conduct the Hoſt of the Lord to their own Advantage.

As we expected, they appeared, beat our Dragoons from the Bridge, and paſſed it: We ſtood firm in one Line with a Reſerve, and expected a Charge; but Collonel *Sandys* ſhewing a great deal more Judgment than we thought he was Maſter of, extends himſelf to the Left, finding the Ground too ſtreight, and began to form his Men with a great deal of Readineſs and Skill; for by this time he ſaw our Number was greater than he expected: The Prince perceiving it, and foreſeeing that the Stratagem of the Dragoons would be fruſtrated by this, immediately charges with the Horſe, and the Dragoons at the ſame time ſtanding upon their Feet, poured in their Shot upon thoſe that were paſſing the Bridge: This Surprize put them into ſuch Diſorder, that we had but little Work with them; for though Collonel *Sandys* with the Troops next him ſuſtained the Shock very well, and behaved themſelves gallantly enough, yet the Confuſion beginning in their Reer, thoſe that had not yet paſſed the Bridge were kept back by the Fire of the Dragoons, and the reſt were eaſily cut in Pieces. Collonel *Sandys* was mortally wounded and taken Priſoner, and the Crowd was ſo great, to get back, that many puſhed into the Water; and were rather ſmothered than drowned. Some of them who never

never came into the Fight, were ſo frighted, that they never looked behind them, 'till they came to *Perſhore*; and as we were afterwards informed, the Life-Guards of the General who had quartered in the Town, left it in Diſorder enough, expecting us at the Heels of their Men.

If our Buſineſs had been to keep the Parliament Army from coming to *Worceſter*, we had a very good Opportunity to have ſecured the Bridge at *Perſhore*; but our Deſign lay another Way, as I have ſaid, and the King was for drawing *Eſſex* on to the *Severn*, in hopes to get behind him, which fell out accordingly.

Eſſex, ſpurred by this Affront in the Infancy of their Affairs, advances the next Day, and came to *Parſhore* time enough to be at the Funeral of ſome of his Men; and from thence he advances to *Worceſter*.

We marched back to *Worceſter* extremely pleaſed with the good Succeſs of our firſt Attack; and our Men were ſo fluſhed with this little Victory, that it put Vigour into the whole Army. The Enemy loſt about 3000 Men, and we carried away near 150 Priſoners, with 500 Horſes, ſome Standards and Arms, and among the Priſoners their Collonel, but he died a little after of his Wounds.

Upon the Approach of the Enemy, *Worceſter* was quitted, and the Forces marched back to join the King's Army which lay then at *Bridgnorth*, *Ludlow*, and thereabout. As the King expected, it fell out; *Eſſex* found ſo much Work at *Worceſter* to ſettle Parliament Quarters, and ſecure *Briſtol*, *Glouceſter*, and *Hereford*, that it gave the King a full Day's March of him; ſo the King having the Start of him, moves towards *London*; and *Eſſex*, nettled to be both beaten in Fight, and outdone in Conduct, decamps, and follows the King.

The Parliament, and the *Londoners* too, were in a ſtrange Conſternation at this Miſtake of their General; and had the King, whoſe great Misfortune was always to follow precipitant Advices: Had the King, I ſay, puſhed on his firſt Deſign, which he had formed with very good Reaſon, and for which he had been dodging with *Eſſex* eight or ten Days, *viz.* Of marching directly to *London*, where he had a very great Intereſt, and where his Friends were not yet oppreſſed and impoveriſhed, as they were afterwards, he had turned the Scale of his Affairs: And every Man expected it; for the Members began to ſhift for themſelves, Expreſſes were ſent on the Heels of one another to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to haſten after the King, and if poſſible to bring him to a Battle. Some of theſe Letters fell into our Hands, and we might eaſily diſcover, that the Parliament were in the laſt Confuſion at the Thoughts of our coming to *London*: Beſides this, the City was in a worſe Fright than the Houſe, and the great moving Men began to go out of Town. In ſhort, they expected us, and we expected to come, but Providence for our Ruine had otherwiſe determined it.

Eſſex, upon News of the King's March, and upon Receipt of the Parliament's Letters, makes long Marches after us, and on the 23d of *October* reaches the Village of *Keynton* in *Warwickſhire*. The King was almoſt as far as *Banbury*, and there calls a Council of War. Some of the old Officers that foreſaw the Advantage the King had, the Concern the City was in, and the vaſt Addition both to the Reputation of his Forces, and the Encreaſe of his Intereſt, it would be, if the King could gain that Point, urged the King to march on to *London*. Prince *Rupert*, and the freſh Collonells

nells preſſed for Fighting, told the King, it diſpirited their Men to march with the Enemy at their Heels; that the Parliament Army was inferiour to him by 6000 Men, and fatigued with haſty Marching; that their Orders were to fight, he had nothing to do, but to poſt himſelf to Advantage, and receive them to their Deſtruction; that the Action near *Worceſter* had let him know how eaſy it was to deal with a raſh Enemy; and that 'twas a Diſhonour for him, whoſe Forces were ſo much ſuperior, to be purſued by his Subjects in Rebellion. Theſe and the like Arguments prevailed with the King to alter his wiſer Meaſures, and reſolve to fight. Nor was this all, when a Reſolution of fighting was taken, that Part of the Advice which they who were for fighting gave, as a Reaſon for their Opinion, was forgot, and inſtead of halting, and poſting our ſelves to Advantage till the Enemy came up, we were ordered to march back, and meet them.

Nay, ſo eager was the Prince for fighting, that when from the Top of *Edgehill*, the Enemy's Army was deſcried in the Bottom between them and the Village of *Keynton*, and that the Enemy had bid us Defiance, by diſcharging three Cannons, we accepted the Challenge, and anſwering with two Shot from our Army, we muſt needs forſake the Advantages of the Hills, which they muſt have mounted under the Command of our Cannon, and march down to them into the Plain. I confeſs, I thought here was a great deal more Gallantry than Diſcretion; for it was plainly taking an Advantage out of our own Hands, and puting it into the Hands of the Enemy. An Enemy that *muſt fight*, may always be fought with to Advantage. My old Heroe, the Glorious *Guſtavus Adolphus*, was

as forward to fight as any Man of true Valour mixt with any Policy need to be, or ought to be; but he uſed to ſay, *An Enemy reduced to a Neceſſity of Fighting, is half Beaten.*

'Tis true, we were all but young in the War; the Souldiers hot and forward, and eagerly deſired to come to Hands with the Enemy. But I take the more Notice of it here, becauſe the King in this acted againſt his own Meaſures: For it was the King himſelf had laid the Deſign of getting the Start of *Eſſex*, and marching to *London*. His Friends had invited him thither, and expected, him and ſuffered deeply for the Omiſſion; and yet he gave way to theſe haſty Counſels, and ſuffered his Judgment to be over-ruled by Majority of Voices; an Error, I ſay, the King of *Sweden* was never guilty of: For if all the Officers at a Council of War were of a different Opinion, yet unleſs their Reaſons maſtered his Judgment, their Votes never altered his Meaſures: But this was the Error of our good, but unfortunate Maſter, three times in this War, and particularly in two of the greateſt Battles of the time, *viz.* this of *Edgehill*, and that of *Naſeby*.

The Reſolution for Fighting being publiſhed in the Army, gave an univerſal Joy to the Soldiers, who expreſſed an extraordinary Ardour for Fighting. I remember, my Father talking with me about it, asked me what I Thought of the approaching Battle: I told him, I Thought the King had done very well; for at that time I did not conſult the Extent of the Deſign, and had a mighty Mind, like other raſh People, to ſee it brought to a Day, which made me anſwer my Father as I did: But ſaid I, Sir, *I Doubt there will be but indifferent Doings on both Sides, between two Armies both made up of freſh Men, that have never ſeen any Service.*

My

My Father minded little what I ſpoke of that; but when I ſeemed pleaſed that the King had reſolved to fight, he looked angrily at me, and told me he was ſorry I could ſee no farther into things. I tell you, ſays he haſtily, *If the King ſhould kill, and take Priſoners, this whole Army, General and all, the Parliament will have the Victory; for we have loſt more by ſlipping this Opportunity of getting into* London, *than we ſhall ever get by ten Battles.* I ſaw enough of this afterwards to convince me of the Weight of what my Father ſaid, and ſo did the King too; but it was then too late, Advantages ſlipt in War are never recovered.

We were now in a full March to fight the Earl of *Eſſex*. It was on *Sunday* Morning the 24th of *October*, 1642, fair Weather over Head, but the Ground very heavy and dirty. As ſoon as we came to the Top of *Edgehill*, we diſcovered their whole Army. They were not drawn up, having had two Miles to march that Morning; but they were very buſy forming their Lines, and poſting the Regiments as they came up. Some of their Horſe were exceedingly fatigued, having marched 48 Hours together; and had they been ſuffered to follow us three or four Days March farther, ſeveral of their Regiments of Horſe would have been quite ruined, and their Foot would have been rendered unſerviceable for the preſent. But we had no Patience.

As ſoon as our whole Army was come to the Top of the Hill, we were drawn up in Order of Battle: The King's Army made a very fine Appearance; and indeed they were a Body of gallant Men as ever appeared in the Field, and as well furniſhed at all Points: The Horſe exceeding well accoutred, being moſt of them Gentlemen and Voluntiers; ſome whole Regiments ſerving without

without Pay. Their Horſes very good and fit for Service as could be deſired. The whole Army were not above 18000 Men, and the Enemy not a 1000 over or under, though we had been told they were not above 12000; but they had been reinforced with 4000 Men from *Northampton*.

The King was with the General, the Earl of *Lindſey*, in the Main Battle; Prince *Rupert* commanded the Right Wing, and the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and ſeveral other very good Officers, the Left.

The Signal of Battle being given with two Cannot Shot, we marched in Order of Battalia down the Hill, being drawn up in two Lines with Bodies of Reſerve; the Enemy advanced to meet us much in the ſame Form, with this Difference only, that they had placed their Cannon on their Right, and the King had placed ours in the Center, before, or rather between two great Brigades of Foot. Their Cannon began with us firſt, and did ſome Miſchief among the Dragoons of our left Wing; but our Officers perceiving the Shot took the Men, and miſſed the Horſes, ordered all to alight, and every Man leading his Horſe, to advance in the ſame Order; and this ſaved our Men, for moſt of the Enemy's Shot flew over their Heads. Our Cannon made a terrible Execution upon their Foot for a Quarter of an Hour, and put them into great Confuſion, till the General obliged them to halt, and changed the Poſture of his Front, marching round a ſmall riſing Ground by which he avoided the Fury of our Artillery.

By this time the Wings were engaged, the King having given the Signal of Battle, and ordered the Right Wing to fall on. Prince *Rupert* who as is ſaid, commanded that Wing, fell on with ſuch Fury,

Fury, and puſhed the Left Wing of the Parliament Army ſo effectually, that in a Moment he filled all with Terror and Confuſion: Comiſſary General *Ramſey*, a Scochman, a Low Country Soldier, and an experienced Officer, commanded their Left Wing; and though he did all that an expert Soldier, and a brave Commander could do, yet 'twas to no Purpoſe; his lines were immediately broken, and all overwhelmed in a trice: Two Regiments of Foot, whether as Part of the Left Wing, or on the Left of the Main Body, I know not, were diſordered by their own Horſe, and rather trampled to Death by the Horſes, than beaten by our Men; but they were ſo entirely broken and diſordered, that I do not remember that ever they made one Volley upon our Men; for their own Horſe running away, and falling foul on theſe Foot, were ſo vigorouſly followed by our Men, that the Foot never had a Moment to rally, or look behind them. The Point of the left Wing of Horſe were not ſo ſoon broken as the reſt, and three Regiments of them ſtood firm for ſome Time: The dexterous Officers of the other Regiments taking the Opportunity, rallied a great many of their ſcattered Men behind them, and pieced in ſome Troops with thoſe Regiments; but after two or three Charges, which a Brigade of our ſecond Line following the Prince, made upon them, they alſo were broken with the reſt.

I remember, that at the great Battle of *Leipſick*, the Right Wing of the *Imperialiſts* having fallen in upon the *Saxons* with like Fury to this, bore down all before them, and beat the *Saxons* quite out of the Field; upon which the Soldiers cried, *Victoria, Let us follow. No, no,* ſaid the old General *Tilly, let them go, but let us beat the* Swedes

Swedes *too, and then all's our own.* Had Prince *Rupert* taken this Method, and inſtead of following the Fugitives, who were diſperſed ſo effectually, that two Regiments would have ſecured them from rallying; I ſay, had he fallen in upon the Foot, or wheeled to the Left, and fallen in upon the Rear of the Enemy's Right Wing of Horſe, or returned to the Aſſiſtance of the Left Wing of our Horſe, we had gained the moſt abſolute and compleat Victory that could be; nor had 1000 Men of the Enemy's Army got off: But this Prince, who was full of Fire, and pleaſed to ſee the Rout of the Enemy, purſued them quite to the Town of *Keynton*, where indeed he killed Abundance of their Men, *and ſome Time alſo was loſt in plundering the Baggage:* But in the mean Time, the Glory and Advantage of the Day was loſt to the King; for the right Wing of the Parliament Horſe could not be ſo broken. Sir *William Balfour* made a deſperate Charge upon the Point of the King's Left; and had it not been for two Regiments of Dragoons who were planted in the Reſerve, had routed the whole Wing; for he broke through the firſt Line, and ſtaggered the ſecond, who advanced to their Aſſiſtance, but was ſo warmly received by thoſe Dragoons, who came ſeaſonably in, and gave their firſt Fire on Horſeback, that his Fury was checked, and having loſt a great many Men, was forced to wheel about to his own Men; and had the King had but three Regiments of Horſe at hand, to have charged him, he had been routed. The reſt of this Wing kept their Ground, and received the firſt Fury of the Enemy with great Firmneſs; after which, advancing in their Turn, they were once Maſters of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Cannon, And here we loſt another Advantage; for if any

Foot

Foot had been at hand to ſupport theſe Horſe, they had carried off the Cannon, or turned it upon the main Battle of the Enemy's Foot; but the Foot were otherwiſe engaged. The Horſe on this Side fought with great Obſtinacy, and Variety of Succeſs a great while. Sir *Philip Stapylton*, who commanded the Guards of the Earl of *Eſſex*, being engaged with a Party of our *Shrewsbury* Cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a Brigade of our Foot, who being advanced to fall on upon the Parliament's main Body, flanked Sir *Philip*'s Horſe in their way, and facing to the Left, ſo furiouſly charged him with their Pikes, that he was obliged to retire in great Diſorder, and with the Loſs of a great many Men and Horſes.

All this while the Foot on both Sides were deſperately engaged, and coming cloſe up to the Teeth of one another with the clubbed Muſquet and Puſh of Pike, fought with great Reſolution, and a terrible Slaughter on both Sides, giving no Quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus, till, as if they were tired, and out of Wind, either Party ſeemed willing enough to leave off, and take Breath. Thoſe which ſuffered moſt were that Brigade which had charged Sir *William Stapylton*'s Horſe, who being bravely engaged in the Front which the Enemy's Foot, were, on the ſudden, charged again in Front and Flank, by Sir *William Balfour*'s Horſe, and diſordered, after a very deſperate Defence. Here the King's Standard was taken, the Standard-bearer, Sir *Edward Varney*, being killed; but it was reſcued again by Captain *Smith*, and brought to the King the ſame Night, for which the King Knighted the Captain.

This

This Brigade of Foot had fought all the Day, and had not been broken at laſt, if any Horſe had been at Hand to ſupport them: The Field began to be now clear, both Armies ſtood, as it were, gazing at one another, only the King, having rallied his Foot, ſeemed inclined to renew the Charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, moſt of their Cannon being nailed while they were in our Poſſeſſion, and all the Cannoniers killed or fled, and our Gunners did Execution upon Sir *William Balfour*'s Troops for a good while.

My Father's Regiment being in the Right with the Prince, I ſaw little of the Fight, but the Rout of the Enemy's Left, and we had as full a Victory there as we could deſire, but ſpent too much Time in it; we killed about 2000 Men in that Part of the Action, and having totally diſperſed them, and plundred their Baggage, began to think of our Fellows when 'twas too late to help them. We returned however victorious to the King, juſt as the Battle was over; the King asked the Prince what News? He told him he could give his Majeſty a good Account of the Enemy's Horſe; *ay by G---d, ſays a Gentleman that ſtood by me, and of their Carts too.* That word was ſpoken with ſuch a Senſe of the Misfortune, and made ſuch an Impreſſion in the whole Army, that it occaſioned ſome ill Blood afterwards among us; and but that the King took up the Buſineſs, it had been of ill Conſequence; for ſome Perſon who had heard the Gentleman ſpeak it, informed the Prince who it was, and the Prince reſenting it, ſpoke ſomething about it in the hearing of the Party when the King was preſent: The Gentleman not at all ſurprized, told his Highneſs openly, he had ſaid the Words; and though he owned

he had no Diſreſpect for his Highneſs, yet he could not but ſay, if it had not been ſo, the Enemy's Army had been better beaten. The Prince replied ſomething very diſobliging; upon which the Gentleman came up to the King, and kneeling, humbly beſought his Maieſty to accept of his Commiſſion, and to give him leave to tell the Prince, that whenever his Highneſs pleaſed, he was ready to give him Satisfaction. The Prince was exceedingly provoked, and as he was very paſſionate, began to talk very odly, and without all Government of himſelf: The Gentleman, as bold as he, but much calmer, preſerved his Temper, but maintained his Quarrel; and the King was ſo concerned, that he was very much out of Humour with the Prince about it. However, his Majeſty upon Conſideration, ſoon ended the Diſpute, by laying his Commands on them both to ſpeak no more of it for that Day; and refuſing the Comiſſion from the Collonel, for he was no leſs, ſent for them both next Morning in private, and made them Friends again.

But to return to our Story, we came back to the King timely enough to put the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Men out of all Humour of renewing the Fight; and as I obſerved before, both Parties ſtood gazing at one another, and our Cannon playing upon them, obliged Sir *William Balfour*'s Horſe to wheel off in ſome Diſorder, but they returned us none again; which, as we afterwards underſtood, was, as I ſaid before, for want of both Powder and Gunners; for the Cannoniers and Firemen were killed, or had quitted their Train in the Fight, when our Horſe had Poſſeſſion of their Artillery; and as they had ſpiked up ſome of the Cannon, ſo they had carryed away 15 Carriages of Powder.

Night

Night coming on, ended all Diſcourſe of more fighting; and the King drew off and marched towards the Hills. I know no other Token of Victory which the Enemy had, than their lying in the Field of Battle all Night, which *they did* for no other Reaſon, than that having loſt their Baggage and Proviſions, they had no where to go; and which we *did not*, becauſe we had good Quarters at Hand.

The Number of Priſoners, and of the ſlain, were not very unequal; the Enemy loſt more Men, we moſt of Quality. Six Thouſand Men on both Sides were killed on the Spot, whereof, when our Rolls were examined, we miſſed 2500. We loſt our brave General the old Earl of *Lindſey*, who was wounded and taken Priſoner, and died of his Wounds; Sir *Edward Stradling*, Collonel *Lundſford*, Priſoners; and Sir *Edward Varney*, and a great many Gentlemen of Quality ſlain. On the other Hand, we carried off Collonel *Eſſex*, Collonel *Ramſey*, and the Lord St. *John*, who alſo died of his Wounds; we took five Ammunition Waggons, full of Powder, and brought off about 500 Horſe in the Defeat of the Left Wing, with 18 Standards and Colours, and loſt 17.

The Slaughter of the Left Wing was ſo great, and the Flight ſo effectual, that ſeveral of the Officers rid clear away, coaſting round, and got to *London*, where they reported, that the Parliament Army was entirely defeated, all loſt, killed, or taken, as if none but them were left alive to carry the News. This filled them with Conſternation for a while; but when other Meſſengers followed, all was reſtored to Quiet again, and the Parliament cried up their Victory, and ſufficiently mocked God and their General, with their publick Thanks for it. Truly, as the Fight

was

was a Deliverance to them, they were in the right to give Thanks for it; but as to its being a Victory, neither Side had much to boaſt of, and they leſs a great deal than we had.

I got no Hurt in this Fight; and indeed we of the Right Wing had but little fighting; I think I diſcharged my Piſtols but once, and my Carabin twice, for we had more Fatigue than Fight; the Enemy fled, and we had little to do but to follow and kill thoſe we could overtake. I ſpoiled a good Horſe, and got a better from the Enemy in his Room, and came home weary enough. My Father loſt his Horſe, and in the Fall was bruiſed in his Thigh by another Horſe, treading on him, which diſabled him for ſome Time, and, at his Requeſt, by his Majeſty's Conſent, I commanded the Regiment in his Abſence.

The Enemy received a Recruit of 4000 Men the next Morning; if they had not, I believe they had gone back towards *Worceſter*; but, encouraged by that Reinforcement, they called a Council of War, and had a long Debate whether they could attack us again? but notwithſtanding their great Victory, they durſt not attempt it, though this Addition of Strength made them ſuperiour to us by 3000 Men.

The King indeed expected, that when theſe Troops joined them they would advance, and we were preparing to receive them at a Village called *Aino*, where the Head Quarter continued three or four Days; and had they really eſteemed the firſt Day's Work a Victory, as they called it, they would have done it, but they thought not good to venture, but march away to *Warwick*, and from thence to *Coventry*. The King, to urge them to venture upon him, and come to a ſecond Battle, ſits down before *Banbury*, and takes

both Town and Caſtle, and two entire Regiments of Foot, and one Troop of Horſe, quit the Parliament Service, and take up their Arms for the King. This was done almoſt before their Faces, which was a better Proof of a Victory on our Side, than any they could pretend to. From *Banbury* we marched to *Oxford*; and now all Men ſaw the Parliament had made a great Miſtake, *for they were not always in the right any more than we*, to leave *Oxford* without a Garriſon. The King cauſed new regular Works to be drawn round it, and ſeven royal Baſtions with Ravelins and and Out-works, a double Ditch, Counterſcarp and Covered Way; all which added to the Advantage of its Situation, made it a formidable Place, and from this Time it became our Place of Arms, and the Center of Affairs on the King's Side.

If the Parliament had the Honour of the Field, the King reaped the Fruits of the Victory; for all this Part of the Country ſubmitted to him: *Eſſex*'s Army made the beſt of their Way to *London*, and were but in an ill Condition when they came there, eſpecially their Horſe.

The Parliament, ſenſible of this, and receiving daily Accounts of the Progreſs we made, began to cool a little in their Temper, abated of their firſt Rage, and voted an Addreſs for Peace; and ſent to the King, to let him know they were deſirous to prevent the Effuſion of more Blood, and to bring things to an Accommodation, or, as they called it, a *Right Underſtanding*.

I was now, by the King's particular Favour, ſummoned to the Councils of War, my Father continuing abſent and ill; and now I began to think of the real Grounds, and which was more, of the fatal Iſſue of this War. I ſay, I now began

gan it; for I cannot ſay that I ever rightly ſtated Matters in my own Mind before, though I had been enough uſed to Blood, and to ſee the Deſtruction of People, ſacking of Towns, and plundering the Country; yet 'twas in *Germany*, and among Strangers; but I found a ſtrange ſecret and unaccountable Sadneſs upon my Spirits to ſee this acting in my own native Country. It grieved me to the Heart, even in the Rout of our Enemies, to ſee the Slaughter of them; and even in the Fight, to hear a Man cry for Quarter in *Engliſh*, moved me to a Compaſſion which I had never been uſed to; nay, ſometimes it looked to me as if ſome of my own Men had been beaten; and when I heard a Soldier cry, *O God, I am ſhot*, I looked behind me to ſee which of my own Troop was fallen. Here I ſaw my ſelf at the cutting of the Throats of my Friends; and indeed ſome of my near Relations. My old Comerades and Fellow-ſoldiers in *Germany* were ſome *with us*, ſome *againſt us*, as their Opinions happened to differ in Religion. For my part, I confeſs I had not much Religion in me, at that time; but I thought Religion rightly practiſed on both Sides would have made us all better Friends; and therefore ſometimes I began to think, that both the Biſhops of our Side, and the Preachers on theirs, made Religion rather *the Pretence* than *the Cauſe* of the War; and from thoſe Thoughts I vigorouſly argued it at the Council of War againſt marching to *Brentford*, while the Addreſs for a Treaty of Peace from the Parliament was in Hand; for I was for taking the Parliament by the Handle which they had given us, and entring into a Negotiation with the Advantage of its being *at their own Requeſt*.

I thought the King had now in his Hands an Opportunity to make an honourable Peace; for this Battle at *Edgehill*, as much as they boasted of the Victory to hearten up their Friends, had sorely weakened their Army, and discouraged their Party too, which in Effect was worse as to their Army. The Horse were particularly in an ill Case, and the Foot greatly diminished; and the Remainder very sickly: But besides this, the Parliament, were greatly alarmed at the Progress we made afterward; and still fearing the King's surprizing them, had sent for the Earl of *Essex* to *London*, to defend them; by which the Country was as it were, deserted and abandoned, and left to be plundered; our Parties over-run all Places at Pleasure. All this while I considered, that whatever the Soldiers of Fortune meant by the War, our Desires were to suppress the exorbitant Power of a Party, to establish our King in his just and legal Rights; but not with a Design to destroy the Constitution of Government, and the Being of Parliament; and therefore I thought now was the Time for Peace, and their were a great many worthy Gentlemen in the Army of my Mind; and, had our Master had Ears to hear us, the War might have had an End here.

This Address for Peace was received by the King at *Maidenhead*, whither this Army was now advanced, and his Majesty returned Answer by Sir *Peter Killegrew*, that he desired nothing more, and would not be wanting on his Part. Upon this the Parliament name Commissioners, and his Majesty excepting against Sir *John Evelyn*, they left him out, and sent others; and desired the King to appoint his Residence near *London*, where the Commissioners might wait

upon

upon him. Accordingly the King appointed *Windſor* for the Place of Treaty, and deſired the Treaty might be haſtened. And thus all things looked with a favourable Aſpect, when one unlucky Action knocked it all on the Head, and filled both Parties with more implacable Animoſities than they had before, and all Hopes of Peace vaniſhed.

During this Progreſs of the King's Armies, we were always abroad with the Horſe ravaging the Country, aud plundering the Roundheads. Prince *Rupert*, a moſt active vigilant Party-man, and I muſt own, fitter for ſuch than for a General, was never lying ſtill, and I ſeldom ſtayed behind; for our Regiment being very well mounted, he would always ſend for us, if he had any extraordinary Deſign in Hand.

One time in particular he had a Deſign upon *Alisbury*, the Capital of *Buckinghamſhire*; indeed our View at firſt was rather to beat the Enemy out of Town and demoliſh their Works, and perhaps raiſe ſome Contributions on the rich Country round it, than to Garriſon the Place, and keep it; for we wanted no more Garriſons, being Maſters of the Field.

The Prince had 2500 Horſe with him in this Expedition, but no Foot; the Town had ſome Foot raiſed in the Country by Mr. *Hambden*, and two Regiments of the Country Militia, whom we made light of, but we found they ſtood to their Tackle better than *well enough*. We came very early to the Town, and thought they had no Notice of us; but ſome falſe Brother had given them the Alarm and we found them all in Arms, the Hedges without the Town lined with Muſqueteers, on that Side in particular where they expected us, and the two Regiments of Foot

drawn up in View to ſupport them, with ſome Horſe in the Rear of all.

The Prince willing however to do ſome thing, cauſed ſome of his Horſe to alight, and ſerve as Dragoons; and having broken a Way into the Encloſures, the Horſe beat the Foot from behind the Hedges, while the reſt who were alighted charged them in the Lane which leads to the Town. Here they had caſt up ſome Works, and fired from their Lines very regularly, conſidering them as Militia only, the Governour encouraging them by his Example; ſo that finding without ſome Foot there would be no good to be done, we gave it over, and drew off; and ſo *Alisbury* ſcaped a ſcouring for that Time.

I cannot deny but theſe flying Parties of Horſe committed great Spoil among the Country People; and ſometimes the Prince gave a Liberty to ſome Cruelties which were not at all for the King's Intereſt; becauſe it being ſtill upon our own Country, and the King's own Subjects, whom, in all his Declarations, he proteſted to be careful of. It ſeemed to contradict all thoſe proteſtations and Declarations, and ſerved to aggravate and exaſperate the Common People; and the King's Enemies made all the Advantages of it that was poſſible, by crying out of twice as many Extravagancies as were committed.

'Tis true, the King, who naturally abhorred ſuch things, could not reſtrain his Men, no nor his Generals, ſo abſolutely as he would have done. The War, on his Side, was very much *à la Voluntier*; many Gentlemen ſerved him at their own Charge, and ſome paid whole Regiments themſelves: Sometimes alſo the King's Affairs were ſtraiter than ordinary, and his Men were not very well paid, and this obliged him

him to wink at their Excurſions upon the Country, though he did not approve of them; and yet I muſt own, that in thoſe Parts of *England* were the War was hotteſt, there never was ſeen that Ruin and Depopulation, Murthers, Raviſhments, and Barbarities, which I have ſeen even among Proteſtant Armies abroad in *Germany*, and other foreign Parts of the World. And if the Parliament People had ſeen thoſe things abroad, as I had, they would not have complained.

The moſt I have ſeen was plundering the Towns for Proviſions, drinking up their Beer, and turning our Horſes into their Fields, or Stacks of Corn; and ſometimes the Soldiers would be a little rude with the Wenches; but alas! what was this to Count *Tilly*'s Ravages in *Saxony*? Or what was our taking of *Leiceſter* by Storm, where they cried out of our Barbarities, to the ſacking of *New Brandenburgh*, or the taking of *Magdeburgh*? In *Leiceſter*, of 7 or 8000 People in the Town, 300 were killed; in *Magdeburgh*, of 25000 ſcarce 2700 were left, and the whole Town burnt to Aſhes. I my ſelf, have ſeen 17 or 18 Villages on Fire in a Day, and the People driven away from their Dwellings, like Herds of Cattle; the Men murthered, the Women ſtript; and, 7 or 800 of them together, after they had ſuffered all the Indignities and Abuſes of the Soldiers, driven ſtark naked in the Winter through the great Towns, to ſeek Shelter and Relief from the Charity of their Enemies. I do not inſtance theſe greater Barbarities to juſtify leſſer Actions, which are nevertheleſs irregular; but, *I do ſay*, that Circumſtances conſidered, this War was managed with as much Humanity on both Sides as could be expected, eſpecially alſo conſidering the Animoſity of Parties.

But to Return to the Prince, he had not always the ſame Succeſs in theſe Enterprizes, for ſometimes we came ſhort home. And I cannot omit one pleaſant Adventure which happened to a Party of ours in one of theſe Excurſions into *Buckinghamſhire*. The Major of our Regiment was ſoundly beaten by a Party which, as I may ſay was led by a Woman; and, if I had not reſcued him, I know not but he had been taken Priſoner by a Woman. It ſeems our Men had beſieged ſome fortified Houſe about *Oxfordſhire*, towards *Tame*, and the Houſe being defended by the Lady in her Husband's Abſence, ſhe had yielded the Houſe upon a Capitulation; one of the Articles of which was, to march out with all her Servants, Soldiers, and Goods, and to be convey'd to *Tame*: Whether ſhe thought to have gone no farther, or that ſhe reckoned her ſelf ſafe there, I know not; but my Major, with two Troops of Horſe meets with this Lady and her Party, about five Miles from *Tame*, as we were coming back from our defeated Attack of *Alisbury*. We reckoned our ſelves in an Enemy's Country, and had lived a little at large, or at Diſcretion, *as 'tis called abroad*; and theſe two Troops with the Major, were returning to our Detachment from a little Village, where, at a Farmer's Houſe, they had met with ſome Liquor, and truly ſome of his Men were ſo drunk they could but juſt ſit upon their Horſes. The Major himſelf was not much better, and the whole Body were but in a ſorry Condition to fight. Upon the Road they meet this Party; the Lady having no Deſign of Fighting, and being as ſhe thought under the Protection of the Articles, ſounds a Parley, and deſired to ſpeak with the Officer. The Major *as drunk as he was*, could tell her, that by the Articles ſhe

was

was to be assured no farther than *Tame*, and being now five Miles beyond it, she was a fair Enemy, and therefore demanded to render themselves Prisoners. The Lady seemed surprized, but being sensible she was in the wrong, offered to compound for her Goods, and would have given him 300 l. and, I think, seven or eight Horses: The Major would certainly have taken it, if he had not been drunk; but he refused it, and gave threatning Words to her, bluftering in Language which he thought proper to fright a Woman, *viz.* that he would cut them all to Pieces, and give no Quarter, *and the like.* The Lady, who had been more used to the Smell of Powder than he imagined, called some of her Servants to her, and consulting with them what to do, they all unanimously encouraged her to let them fight; told her, it was plain that the Commander was drunk, and all that were with him were rather worse than he, and hardly able to sit their Horses; and that therefore one bold Charge would put them all into Confusion. *In a Word*, she consented, and, as she was a Woman, they desired her to secure her self among the Waggons; but she refused, and told them bravely, she would take her Fate with them. *In short*, she boldly bad my Major Defiance, and that he might do his worst, since she had offered him fair, and he had refused it; her Mind was altered now, and she would give him nothing, and bad his Officer that parlied longer with her, be gone; so the Parly ended. After this, she gave him fair Leave to go back to his Men; but before he could tell his Tale to them, she was at his Heels, with all her Men, and gave him such a home Charge as put his Men into Disorder; and, being too drunk to rally, they were knocked

knocked down before they knew what to do with themſelves; and, in a few Minutes more, they took to a plain Flight. But what was ſtill worſe, the Men, being ſome of them very drunk, when they came to run for their Lives, fell over one another, and tumbled over their Horſes, and made ſuch Work, that a Troop of Women might have beaten them all. In this Pickle, with the Enemy at his Heels, I came in with him, hearing the Noiſe; when I appeared, the Purſuers retreated, and, ſeeing what a Condition my People were in, and not knowing the Strength of the Enemy, I contented my ſelf with bringing them off without purſuing the other; nor could I ever hear poſitively who this Female Captain was. We loſt 17 or 18 of our Men, and about 30 Horſes; but when the Particulars of the Story were told us, our Major was ſo laughed at by the whole Army, and laughed at every where, that he was aſhamed to ſhew himſelf for a Week or a Fortnight after.

But, to return to the King; his Majeſty, *as I obſerved*, was at *Maidenhead* addreſſed by the Parliament for Peace, and *Windſor* being appointed for the Place of Treaty, the Van of his Army lay at *Colebrook*. In the mean time, whether it were true, or only a Pretence, but it was reported the Parliament General had ſent a Body of his Troops, with a Train of Artillery, to *Hammerſmith*, in order to fall upon ſome part of our Army, or to take ſome advanced Poſt, which was to the Prejudice of our Men; whereupon the King ordered the Army to march, and, by the Favour of a thick Miſt, came within half a Mile of *Brentford* before he was diſcovered. There were two Regiments of Foot, and about 600 Horſe

Horſe in the Town, of the Enemy's beſt Troops; theſe taking the Alarm, poſted themſelves on the Bridge at the Weſt End of the Town. The King attacked them with a ſelect Detachment of his beſt Infantry, and they defended themſelves with incredible Obſtinacy. I muſt own, I never ſaw *raw Men*, for they could not have been in Arms above four Months, act like them in my Life. *In ſhort*, there was no forcing theſe Men; for, though two whole Brigades of our Foot, backed by our Horſe, made five ſeveral Attacks upon them, they could not break them, and we loſt a great many brave Men in that Action. At laſt, ſeeing the Obſtinacy of theſe Men, a Party of Horſe was ordered to go round from *Oſterly*; and, entering the Town on the North Side, where, though the Horſe made ſome Reſiſtance, it was not conſiderable, the Town was preſently taken. I led my Regiment through an Encloſure, and came into the Town nearer to the Bridge than the reſt, by which Means I got firſt into the Town; but I had this Loſs by my Expedition, that the Foot charged me before the Body was come up, and pouring in their Shot very furiouſly, my Men were but in an ill Caſe, and would not have ſtood much longer, if the reſt of the Horſe coming up the Lane had not found them other Employment. When the Horſe were thus entered, they immediately diſperſed the Enemy's Horſe, who fled away towards *London*, and falling in Sword in Hand upon the Rear of the Foot, who were engaged at the Bridge, they were all cut in Pieces, except about 200, who ſcorning to ask Quarter, deſperately threw themſelves into the River of *Thames*, where they were moſt of them drowned.

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The Parliament, and their Party, made a great Outcry at this Attempt; that it was baſe and treacherous while in a Treaty of Peace; and that the King, having amuſed them with hearkening to a Treaty, deſigned to have ſeized upon their Train of Artillery firſt, and, after that, to have ſurprized both the City of *London* and the Parliament. And I have obſerved ſince, that our Hiſtorians note this Action as contrary to the Laws of Honour and Treaties; though as there was no Ceſſation of Arms agreed on, nothing is more contrary to the Laws of War than to ſuggeſt it.

That it was a very unhappy thing to the King and whole Nation, as it broke off the Hopes of Peace, and was the Occaſion of bringing the *Scots* Army in upon us, I readily acknowledge; but that there was any thing diſhonourable in it, I cannot allow: For though the Parliament had addreſſed to the King for Peace, and ſuch Steps were taken in it, as before; yet, as I have ſaid, there was no Propoſals made on either Side for a Ceſſation of Arms; and all the World muſt allow, that in ſuch Caſes the War goes on in the Field, while the Peace goes on in the Cabinet. And if the War goes on, admit the King had deſigned to ſurprize the City or Parliament, or all of them, it had been no more than the Cuſtom of War allows, and what they would have done by him, if they could. The Treaty of *Weſtphalia*, or Peace of *Munſter*, which ended the bloody Wars of *Germany*, was a Precedent for this. That Treaty was actually negotiating ſeven Years, and yet the War went on with all the Vigour and Rancour imaginable, even to the laſt: Nay, the very Time after the Concluſion of it, but before the News could be brought

brought to the Army, did he that was afterwards King of *Sweden*, *Carolus Guſtavus*, take the City of *Prague*, by Surprize, and therein an ineſtimable Booty. Beſides, all the Wars of *Europe* are full of Examples of this Kind; and therefore I cannot ſee any Reaſon to blame the King for this Action as to the Fairneſs of it. Indeed as to the Policy of it, I can ſay little; but the Caſe was this, the King had a gallant Army, fluſhed with Succeſs, and things hitherto had gone on very proſperouſly, both with his own Army and elſewhere; he had above 35000 Men in his own Army, including his Garriſons left at *Banbury*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worceſter*, *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Abbingdon*, *Reading*, and Places adjacent. On the other Hand, the Parliament Army came back to *London* in but a very * ſorry Condition; for what with their Loſs *in their Victory, as they called it, at* Edgehill, their Sickneſs, and a haſty March to *London*, they were very much diminiſhed; though at *London* they ſoon recruited them again. And this Proſperity of the King's Affairs might encourage him to ſtrike this Blow, thinking to bring the Parliament to the better Terms, by the Apprehenſions of the ſuperior Strength of the King's Forces.

But *however it was*, the Succeſs did not equally anſwer the King's Expectation; the vigorous Defence the Troops poſted at *Brentford* made as above, gave the Earl of *Eſſex* Opportunity, with extraordinary Application, to draw his Forces out to *Turnham-Green*; and the exceeding Alacri-

* Note, General *Ludlow*, in his Memoirs, p. 52. ſays, their Men returned from *Warwick* to *London*, not like Men who had obtained a Victory, but like Men that had been beaten.

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ty of the Enemy was ſuch, that their whole Army appeared with them, making together an Army of 24000 Men, drawn up in View of our Forces, by 8 o' Clock the next Morning. The City Regiments were placed between the regular Troops, and all together offered us Battle, but we were not in a Condition to accept it. The King indeed was ſometimes of the Mind to charge them, and once or twice ordered Parties to advance to begin to skirmiſh; but upon better Advice, altered his Mind; and indeed it was the wiſeſt Counſel to defer the fighting at that Time. The Parliament Generals were as unfixed in their Reſolutions on the other Side, as the King: Sometimes they ſent out Parties, and then called them back again. One ſtrong Party, of near 3000 Men marched off towards *Acton*, with Orders to amuſe us on that Side, but were countermanded. Indeed I was of the Opinion, we might have ventured the Battle; for though the Parliament's Army were more numerous, yet the City Trained-Bands, which made up 4000 of their Foot, were not much eſteemed, and the King was a great deal ſtronger in Horſe than they; but the main Reaſon that hindred the Engagement, was want of Ammunition, which the King having duly weighed, he cauſed the Carriages and Cannon to draw off firſt, and then the Foot, the Horſe continuing to face the Enemy till all was clear gone, and then we drew off too, and marched to *Kingſton*, and the next Day to *Reading*.

Now the King ſaw his Miſtake, in not continuing his March for *London*, inſtead of Facing about to fight the Enemy at *Edgehill*. And all the Honour we had gained in ſo many ſucceſsful Enterprizes lay buried in this ſhameful Retreat from an Army of Citizens Wives: For, truly

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that Appearance at *Turnham-Green* was gay, but not great. There was as many Lookers on as Actors; the Crouds of Ladies, 'Prentices and Mob was ſo great, that when the Parties of our Army advanced, and, as they thought, to Charge, the Coaches, Horſemen, and Croud, that cluttered away, to be out of Harm's way, looked little better than a Rout: And I was perſwaded a good home Charge from our Horſe would have ſent their whole Army after them; but ſo it was, that this Croud of an Army was to triumph over us, and they did it; for all the Kingdom was carefully informed how their dreadful Looks had frightened us away.

Upon our Retreat, the Parliament reſent this Attack, which they called treacherous, and vote no Accommodation; but they conſidered of it afterwards, and ſent ſix Commiſſioners to the King with Propoſitions; but the Change of the Scene of Action changed the Terms of Peace; and now they made Terms like Conquerors, petition him to deſert his Army, and return to the Parliament, and the like. Had his Majeſty, at the Head of his Army, with the full Reputation they had before, and in the Ebb of their Affairs, reſted at *Windſor*, and commenced a Treaty, they had certainly made more reaſonable Propoſals; but now the Scabbard ſeemed to be thrown away on both Sides.

The reſt of the Winter was ſpent in ſtrengthening Parties, and Places alſo in fruitleſs Treaties of Peace, Meſſages, Remonſtrances, and Paper War on both Sides, and no Action remarkable happened any where that I remember: Yet the King gained Ground every where, and his Forces in the *North* encreaſed under the Earl of *Newcaſtle*; alſo my Lord *Goring*, then only called

Collonel *Goring*, arrived from *Holland*, bringing three Ships loaden with Arms and Ammunition, and Notice, that the Queen was following with more. *Goring* brought 4000 Barrels of Gunpowder, and 20000 ſmall Arms; all which came very ſeaſonably, for the King was in great want of them, eſpecally the Powder. Upon this Recruit the Earl of *Newcaſtle* draws down to *York*, and being above 16000 ſtrong, made Sir *Thomas Fairfax* give Ground, and retreat to *Hull*.

Whoever lay ſtill, Prince *Rupert* was always abroad, and I choſe to go out with his Highneſs as often as I had Opportunity; for hitherto he was always ſucceſsful. About this Time the Prince, being at *Oxford*, I gave him Intelligence of a Party of the Enemy who lived a little at large, too much for good Soldiers, about *Cirenceſter*: The Prince glad of the News, reſolved to attack them, and though it was a wet Seaſon, and the Ways exceeding bad, being in *February*, yet we marched all Night in the Dark, which occaſioned the Loſs of ſome Horſes and Men too, in Sloughs and Holes, which the Darkneſs of the Night had ſuffered them to fall into. We were a very ſtrong Party, being about 3000 Horſe and Dragoons, and coming to *Cirenceſter* very early in the Morning, to our great Satisfaction the Enemy were perfectly ſurprized, not having the leaſt Notice of our March, which anſwered our End more Ways than one. However, the Earl of *Stamford*'s Regiment made ſome Reſiſtance; but the Town having no Works to defend it, ſaving a ſlight Breaſt-Work at the Entrance of the Road, with a Turn-pike, our Dragoons alighted, and forcing their Way over the Bellies of *Stamford*'s Foot, they beat them from their Defence, and followed them at their Heels into the Town.

Stamford's

Stamford's Regiment was entirely cut in Pieces, and ſeveral others, to the Number of about 800 Men, and the Town entered without any other Reſiſtance. We took 1200 Priſoners, 3000 Arms, and the County Magazin, which at that was conſiderable; for there was about 120 Barrels of Powder, and all things in Proportion.

I received the firſt Hurt I got in this War, at this Action; for having followed the Dragoons, and brought my Regiment within the Barricado which they had gained, a Muſquet Bullet ſtruck my Horſe juſt in the Head; and that ſo effectually, that he fell down as dead as a Stone, all at once. The Fall plunged me into a Puddle of Water, and daubed me; and my Man having brought me another Horſe, and cleaned me a little, I was juſt getting up, when another Bullet ſtrook me on my left Hand, which I had juſt clapt on the Horſe's Mane, to lift my ſelf into the Saddle. The Blow broke one of my Fingers, and bruiſed my Hand very much, and it proved a very painful Hurt to me. For the preſent I did not much concern my ſelf about it, but made my Man tye it up cloſe in my Handkerchief, and led up my Men to the Market Place, where we had a very ſmart Bruſh with ſome Muſqueteers who were poſted in the Church-yard; but our Dragoons ſoon beat them out there, and the whole Town was then our own. We made no Stay here, but marched back with all our Booty to *Oxford*, for we knew the Enemy were very ſtrong at *Glouceſter*, and that way.

Much about the ſame Time, the Earl of *Northampton*, with a ſtrong Party, ſet upon *Litchfield*, and took the Town, but could not take the Cloſe; but they beat a Body of 4000 Men coming to

the Relief of the Town, under Sir *John Gell* of *Darbyſhire* and Sir *William Brereton* of *Cheſhire*, and killing 600 of them, diſperſed the reſt.

Our ſecond Compaign now began to open; the King marched from *Oxford* to relieve *Reading*, which was beſieged by the Parliament Forces; but Collonel *Feilding*, Lieutenant Governour, Sir *Arthur Aſhton* being wounded, ſurrendred to *Eſſex* before the King could come up; for which he was tried by Martial Law, and condemned to die; but the King forbore to execute the Sentence. This was the firſt Town we had loſt in the War; for ſtill the Succeſs of the King's Affairs was very encouraging. This bad News however was over-balanced by an Account brought the King at the ſame time, by an Expreſs from *York*, that the Queen had landed in the *North*, and had brought over a great Magazin of Arms and Ammunition, beſides ſome Men. Some time after this, her Majeſty marching Southward to meet the King, joined the Army near *Edgehill*, where the firſt Battle was fought. She brought the King 3000 Foot, 1500 Horſe and Dragoons, ſix Pieces of Cannon, 1500 Barrels of Powder, 12000 ſmall Arms.

During this Proſperity of the King's Affairs, his Armies encreaſed mightily in the Weſtern Counties alſo. Sir *William Waller* indeed commanded for the Parliament in thoſe Parts too, and particularly in *Dorſetſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, where he carried on their Cauſe but too faſt; but farther Weſt, Sir *Nicholas Flamming*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, had extended the King's Quarters from *Cornwall* through *Devonſhire*, and into *Somerſetſhire*, where they took *Exeter*, *Barnſtable*, and *Biddiford*; and the firſt of theſe they fortified very well, making it a Place

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of Arms for the Weſt, and afterwards it was the Reſidence of the Queen.

At laſt, the Famous Sir *William Waller*, and the King's Forces met, and came to a pitched Battle, where Sir *William* loſt all his Honour again. This was at *Roundway-down* in *Wiltſhire*. *Waller* had engaged our *Corniſh* Army at *Lanſdown*, and in a very obſtinate Fight had the better of them, and made them retreat to the *Devizes*. Sir *William Hopton* however having a good Body of Foot untouched, ſent Expreſſes and Meſſengers one in the Neck of another to the King for ſome Horſe, and the King being in great Concern for that Army, who were compoſed of the Flower of the *Corniſh* Men, commanded me to march with all poſſible Secreſy, as well as Expedition, with 1200 Horſe and Dragoons from *Oxford*, to join them. We ſet out in the Depth of the Night, to avoid, if poſſible, any Intelligence being given of our Rout, and ſoon joined with the *Corniſh* Army, when it was as ſoon reſolved to give Battle to *Waller*; and, give him his due, he was as forward to fight as we. As it is eaſy to meet when both Sides are willing to be found, Sir *William Waller* met us upon *Roundway-down*, where we had a fair Field on both Sides, and Room enough to draw up our Horſe. In a Word, there was little Ceremony to the Work; the Armies joined, and we charged his Horſe with ſo much Reſolution, that they quickly fled, and quitted the Field; for we over-matched him in Horſe, and this was the entire Deſtruction of their Army: For their Infantry, which out-numbered ours by 1500, were now at our Mercy; ſome faint Reſiſtance they made, juſt enough to give us Occaſion to break into their Ranks with our Horſe, where

we gave Time to our Foot to defeat others that ſtood to their Work: Upon which they began to disband, and run every Way they could; but our Horſe having ſurrounded them, we made a fearful Havock of them.

We loſt not above 200 Men in this Action; *Waller* loſt above 4000 killed and taken, and as many diſperſed that never returned to their Colours: Thoſe of Foot that eſcaped got into *Briſtol*, and *Waller*, with the poor Remains of his routed Regiments, got to *London*; ſo that it is plain ſome run Eaſt, and ſome run Weſt, that is to ſay, they fled every Way they could.

My going with this Detachment prevented my being at the Siege of *Briſtol*, which Prince *Rupert* attacked much about the ſame Time, and it ſurrendered in three Days. The Parliament queſtioned Collonel *Nathaniel Fienns*, the Governor, and had him tried as a Coward by a Court Martial, and condemned to die, but ſuſpended the Execution alſo, as the King did the Governor of *Reading*. I have often heard Prince *Rupert* ſay, they did Collonel *Fienns* wrong in that Affair; and that if the Collonel would have ſummoned him, he would have demanded a Paſſport of the Parliament, and have come up and convinced the Court, that Collonel *Fienns* had not misbehaved himſelf; and that he had not a ſufficient Garriſon to defend a City of that Extent; having not above 1200 Men in the Town, excepting ſome of *Waller*'s Runaways, moſt of whom were unfit for Service, and without Arms; and that the Citizens in general being diſaffected to him, and ready on the firſt Occaſion to open the Gates to the King's Forces, it was impoſſible for him to have kept the City; and *when I had farther informed them*, ſaid the Prince, *of the Meaſures I had taken for a general Aſſault the next Day, I am confi-*

dent I ſhould have convinc'd them, that I had taken the City by Storm, if he had not ſurrendered.

The King's Affairs were now in a very good Poſture, and three Armies in the North, Weſt, and in the Center, counted in the Muſters above 70000 Men, beſides ſmall Garriſons and Parties abroad. Several of the Lords, and more of the Commons, began to fall off from the Parliament, and make their Peace with the King; and the Affairs of the Parliament began to look very ill. The City of *London* was their inexnauſtible Support and Magazine, both for Men, Money, and all things neceſſary; and whenever their Army was out of Order, the Clergy of their Party in but one *Sunday* or two, would preach the young Citizens out of their Shops, the Labourers from their Maſters, into the Army, and recruit them on a ſudden: And all this was ſtill owing to the Omiſſion I firſt obſerved, of not marching to *London*, when it might have been ſo eaſily effected.

We had now another, or a fairer Oppottunity, than before, but, as ill Uſe was made of it. The King, as I have obſerved, was in a very good Poſture; he had three large Armies roving at large over the Kingdom. The *Corniſh* Army, Victorious and Numerous, had beaten *Waller*, ſecured and fortified *Exeter*, which the Queen had made her Reſidence, and was there delivered of a Daughter, the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, and Mother of the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, commonly known in the *French* Stile by the Title of *Madam Royal*. They had ſecured *Salisbury*, *Sherborn* Caſtle, *Weymouth*, *Wincheſter*, and *Baſing-houſe*, and commanded the whole Country, except *Bridgewater* and *Taunton*, *Plymouth* and *Linn*; all which Places they

held blocked up. The King was alſo entirely Maſter of all *Wales*, *Monmouthſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Berkſhire*, and all the Towns from *Windſor* up the *Thames* to *Cirenceſter*, except *Reading* and *Henly*; and of the whole *Severn*, except *Glouceſter*.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* had Garriſons in every ſtrong Place in the *North*, from *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, to *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, and *Newark* upon *Trent*, *Hull* only excepted, whither the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas* were retreated, their Troops being routed and broken, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Baggage with his Lady and Servants taken Priſoners, and himſelf hardly eſcaping.

And now a great Council of War was held in the King's Quarters, what Enterprize to go upon; and it happened to be the very ſame Day when the Parliament were in a ſerious Debate what ſhould become of them, and whoſe Help they ſhould ſeek? And indeed they had Cauſe for it; and had our Counſels been as ready and well grounded as theirs, we had put an End to the War in a Month's time.

In this Council the King propoſed the Marching to *London*, to put an End to the Parliament, and encourage his Friends and loyal Subjects in *Kent*, who were ready to riſe for him; and ſhewed us Letters from the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, wherein he offered to join his Majeſty with a Detachment of 4000 Horſe, and 8000 Foot, if his Majeſty thought fit to march Southward, and yet leave Forces ſufficient to guard the *North* from any Invaſion. I confeſs, when I ſaw the Scheme the King had himſelf drawn for this Attempt, I felt an unuſual Satisfaction in my Mind, from the Hopes that we might bring this War to ſome tolerable End; for I profeſſed my ſelf

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on all Occaſions heartily weary of Fighting with Friends, Brothers, Neighbours, and Acquaintance: And I made no Queſtion, but this Motion of the King's would effectually bring the Parliament to Reaſon.

All Men ſeemed to like the Enterprize but the Earl of *Worceſter*, who on particular Views for ſecuring the Country behind, as he called it, propoſed the taking in the Town of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford* firſt: He made a long Speech of the Danger of leaving *Maſſey*, an active, bold Fellow, with a ſtrong Party in the Heart of all the King's Quarters, ready on all Occaſions to ſally out, and ſurprize the neighbouring Garriſons, as he had done *Sudley* Caſtle and others; and of the Eaſe and Freedom to all thoſe Weſtern Parts, to have them fully cleared of the Enemy. Intereſt preſently backs this Advice, and all thoſe Gentlemen whoſe Eſtates lay that way, or whoſe Friends lived about *Worceſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgnorth*, or the Borders; and who, as they ſaid, had heard the frequent Wiſhes of the Country to have the City of *Glouceſter* reduced, fell in with this Advice, alledging the Conſequence it was of for the Commerce of the Country, to have the Navigation of the *Severn* free, which was only interupted by this one Town from the Sea up to *Shrewsbury* &c.

I oppoſed this, and ſo did ſeveral others: Prince *Rupert* was vehemently againſt it; and we both offered, with the Troops of the County, to keep *Glouceſter* blocked up during the King's March for *London*, ſo that *Maſſey* ſhould not be able to ſtir.

This Propoſal made the Earl of *Worceſter*'s Party more eager for the Siege than before; for they had no Mind to a Blockade, which would

leave the Country to maintain the Troops all the Summer; and of all Men the Prince did not pleaſe them: For he having no extraordinary Character for Diſcipline, his Company was not much deſired even by our Friends. Thus, *in an ill Hour* 'twas reſolved to ſit down before *Glouceſter*. The King had a gallant Army of 28000 Men, whereof 11000 Horſe, the fineſt Body of Gentlemen that ever I ſaw together in my Life; their Horſes without Compariſon, and their Equipages the fineſt and the beſt in the World, and their Perſons *Engliſhmen*, which I think is enough to ſay of them.

According to the Reſolution taken in the Council of War, the Army marched Weſtward, and ſat down before *Glouceſter* the Beginning of *Auguſt*. There we ſpent a Month to the leaſt Purpoſe that ever Army did; our Men received frequent Affronts from the deſperate Sallies of an inconſiderable Enemy. I cannot forbear reflecting on the the Misfortunes of this Siege: Our Men were ſtrangely diſpirited in all the Aſſaults they gave upon the Place; there was ſomething looked like Diſaſter and Miſmanagement, and our Men went on with an ill Will, and no Reſolution. The King deſpiſed the Place, and the King, to carry it Sword in Hand, made no regular Approaches, and the Garriſon being deſperate, made therefore the greater Slaughter. In this Work our Horſe, who were ſo numerous and ſo fine, had no Employment: 2000 Horſe had been enough for this Buſineſs, and the Enemy had no Garriſon or Party within fourty Miles of us; ſo that we had nothing to do but look on with infinite Regret, upon the Loſſes of our Foot.

The

The Enemy made frequent and deſperate Sallies, in one of which I had my Share. I was poſted upon a Parade, or Place of Arms, with Part of my Regiment, and Part of Collonel *Goring*'s Regiment of Horſe, in order to ſupport a Body of Foot who were ordered to ſtorm the Point of a Breaſt-work which the Enemy had raiſed to defend one of the Avenues to the Town. The Foot were beat off with Loſs, as they always were; and *Maſſey* the Governor, not content to have beaten them from his Works, ſallies out with near 400 Men, and falling in upon the Foot as they were rallying under the Cover of our Horſe, we put our ſelves in the beſt Poſture we could to receive them. As *Maſſey* did not expect, I ſuppoſe, to engage with any Horſe, he had no Pikes with him, which encouraged us to treat him the more rudley; but as to deſperate Men Danger is no Danger, when he found he muſt clear his Hands of us, before he could diſpatch the Foot, he faces up to us, fires but one Volley of his ſmall Shot, and fell to battering us with the Stocks of their Muſquets, in ſuch a manner, that one would have thought they had been mad Men.

We at firſt deſpiſed this way of Clubbing us, and charging through them, laid a great many of them upon the Ground; and in repeating our Charge, trampled more of them under our Horſes Feet: And wheeling thus continually, beat them off from our Foot, who were juſt upon the Point of disbanding. Upon this they charged us again with their Fire, and at one Volley killed 33 or 34 Men and Horſes; and had they had Pikes with them, I know not what we ſhould have done with them: But at laſt charging through them again, we divided them;

one

one Part of them being hemmed in between us and our own Foot, were cut in Pieces to a Man; the reſt, as I underſtood afterwards, retreated into the Town, having loſt 300 of their Men.

In this laſt Charge I received a rude Blow from a ſtout Fellow on Foot, with the But End of his Muſquet, which perfectly ſtunned me, and fetched me off from my Horſe; and had not ſome near me took Care of me, I had been trod to Death by our own Men: But the Fellow being immediately killed, and my Friends finding me alive, had taken me up, and carried me off at ſome Diſtance, where I came to my ſelf again, after ſome time, but knew little of what I did or ſaid that Night. This was the Reaſon why I ſay I afterwards underſtood the Enemy retreated; for I ſaw no more what they did then; nor indeed was I well of this Blow for all the reſt of the Summer, but had frequent Pains in my Head, Dizzineſſes and Swimming, that gave me ſome Fears the Blow had injured the Scull, but it wore off again; nor did it at all hinder my attending my Charge.

This Action, I think, was the only one that looked like a Defeat given the Enemy at this Siege; we killed them near 300 Men, as I have ſaid, and loſt about 60 of our Troopers.

All this Time, while the King was harraſſing and weakening the beſt Army he ever ſaw together during the whole War, the Parliament Generals, or rather Preachers, were recruiting theirs; for the Preachers were better than Drummers to raiſe Voluntiers, zealouſly exhorting the *London* Dames to part with their Husbands, and the City to ſend ſome of their Trained Bands to join the Army for the Relief of *Glouceſter*; and now they began to advance towards us.

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The King hearing of the Advance of *Eſſex*'s Army, who by this time was come to *Alisbury*, had ſummoned what Forces he had within Call, to join him; and accordingly he received 3000 Foot from *Somerſetſhire*: And having batter'd the Town for 36 Hours, and made a fair Breach, reſolves upon an Aſſault, if poſſible, to carry the Town before the Enemy came up. The Aſſault was begun about Seven in the Evening, and the Men boldly mounted the Breach; but after a very obſtinate and bloody Diſpute, were beaten out again by the beſieged with great Loſs.

Being thus often repulſed, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army approaching, the King calls a Council of War, and propoſed to fight *Eſſex*'s Army. The Officers of the Horſe were for fighting; and without doubt we were ſuperior to him both in Number and Goodneſs of our Horſe, but the Foot were not in an equal Condition: And the Collonels of Foot repreſenting to the King the Weakneſs of their Regiments, and how their Men had been bauked and diſheartened at this curſed Siege, the graver Counſel prevailed, and it was reſolved to raiſe the Siege, and retreat towards *Briſtol*, till the Army was recruited. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the 5th of *September*, the King having before ſent away his heavy Cannon and Baggage, raiſed the Siege, and marched to *Berkley* Caſtle. The Earl of *Eſſex* came the next Day to *Birdlip Hills*; and underſtanding by Meſſengers from Collonel *Maſſey*, that the Siege was raiſed, ſends a Recruit of 2500 Men into the City, and followed us himſelf with a great Body of Horſe.

This Body of Horſe ſhewed themſelves to us once in a large Field fit to have entertained them in; and our Scouts having aſſured us they were not above 4000, and had no Foot with them,

them, the King ordered a Detachment of about the ſame Number to face them. I deſired his Majeſty to let us have two Regiments of Dragoons with us, which was then 800 Men in a Regiment, leſt there might be ſome Dragoons among the Enemy, which the King granted; and accordingly we marched, and drew up in View of them. They ſtood their Ground, having, as they ſuppoſed, ſome Advantage of the manner they were poſted in, and expected we would charge them. The King who did us the Honour to command this Party, finding they would not ſtir, calls me to him, and ordered me with the Dragoons, and my own Regiment, to take a Circuit round by a Village to a certain Lane, where in their Retreat they muſt have paſſed, and which opened to a ſmall Common on their Flank, with Orders, if they engaged, to advance and charge them in the Flank. I marched immediately; but though the Country about there was almoſt all Encloſures, yet their Scouts were ſo vigilant, that they diſcovered me, and gave Notice to the Body; upon which their whole Party moved to the Left, as if they intended to charge me, before the King with his Body of Horſe could come; but the King was too vigilant to be circumvented ſo; and therefore his Majeſty perceiving this, ſends away three Regiments of Horſe to ſecond me, and a Meſſenger before them, to order me to halt, and expect the Enemy, for that he would follow with the whole Body.

But before this Order reached me, I had halted for ſome time; for, finding my ſelf diſcovered, and not judging it ſafe to be entirely cut off from the main Body, I ſtopt at the Village, and cauſing my Dragoons to alight, and line a

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thick Hedge on my Left. I drew up my Horſe juſt at the Entrance into the Village opening to a Common; the Enemy came up on the Trot to charge me, but were ſaluted with a terrible Fire from the Dragoons out of the Hedge, which killed them near 100 Men. This being a perfect Surprize to them, they halted; and juſt at that Moment they received Orders from their main Body to retreat; the King at the ſame time appearing upon ſome ſmall Heights in their Rear, which obliged them to think of retreating, or coming to a general Battle, which was none of their Deſign.

I had no Occaſion to follow them, not being in a Condition to attack their whole Body; but the Dragoons coming out into the Common, gave them another Volley at a Diſtance, which reached them effectually; for it killed about 20 of them, and wounded more; but they drew off, and never fired a Shot at us, fearing to be encloſed between two Parties, and ſo marched away to their General's Quarters, leaving 10 or 12 more of their Fellows killed, and about 180 Horſes. Our Men, after the Country Faſhion, gave them a Shout at parting, to let them ſee we knew they were afraid of us.

However, this Relieving of *Glouceſter* raiſed the Spirits as well as the Reputation of the Parliament Forces, and was a great Defeat to us; and from this time things began to look with a melancholy Aſpect; for the proſperous Condition of the King's Affairs began to decline. The Opportunities he had let ſlip, were never to be recovered; and the Parliament, in their former Extremity, having voted an Invitation to the *Scots* to March to their Aſſiſtance, we had now new Enemies to encounter; and indeed there began the

Ruine

Ruine of his Majeſty's Affairs; for the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, not able to defend himſelf againſt the *Scots* on his Rear, the Earl of *Mancheſter* in his Front, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on his Flank, was every where routed and defeated, and his Forces obliged to quit the Field to the Enemy.

About this Time it was that we firſt began to hear of one *Oliver Cromwell*, who, like a little Cloud, roſe out of the Eaſt, and ſpread firſt into the North, 'till it ſhed down a Flood that overhelmed the three Kindoms.

He firſt was a private Captain of Horſe, but now commanded a Regiment whom he armed *Cap-a-pee a la Curiaſſier*; and joining with the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the firſt Action we heard of him, that made him any thing famous, was about *Grantham*, where, with only his own Regiment, he defeated 24 Troops of Horſe and Dragoons of the King's Forces: Then at *Gainsborough*, with two Regiments, his own of Horſe, and one of Dragoons, where he defeated near 3000 of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Men, killed Lieutenant General *Cavendiſh*, Brother to the Earl of *Devonſhire*, who commanded them, and relieved *Gainſborough*; and though the whole Army came in to the Reſcue, he made good his Retreat to *Lincoln*, with little Loſs; and the next Week he defeated Sir *John Henderſon*, at *Winsby*, near *Horn Caſtle*, with ſixteen Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons, himſelf having not half that Number, killed the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and ſeveral Gentlemen of Quality.

Thus this Firebrand of War began to blaze, and he ſoon grew a Terror to the North; for Victory attended him like a Page of Honour, and he was ſcarce ever known to be beaten, during the whole War.

Now

Now we began to reflect again on the Misfortune of our Master's Counsels: Had we marched to *London*, instead of besieging *Glouceſter*, we had finished the War with a Stroke. The Parliament's Army was in a most despicable Condition, and had never been recruited, had we not given them a Month's time, which we lingered away at this fatal Town of *Glouceſter*: But 'twas too late to reflect; we were a disheartned Army, but we were not beaten yet, nor broken; we had a large Country to recruit in, and we lost no time, but raised Men apace. In the mean time his Majesty, after a short Stay at *Briſtol*, makes back again towards *Oxford* with a part of the Foot, and all the Horse.

At *Cirenceſter* we had a Brush again with *Eſſex*; that Town owed us a shrewd Turn for having handled them coarsly enough before, when Prince *Rupert* seized the County Magazine. I happened to be in the Town that Night with Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, whose Regiment of Horse quartered there with Collonel *Spencer*, and some Foot; my own Regiment was gone before to *Oxford*. About Ten at Night, a Party of *Eſſex*'s Men beat up our Quarters by Surprize, just as we had served them before; they fell in with us, just as People were going to Bed, and having beaten the Out-Guards, where gotten into the Middle of the Town, before our Men could get on Horseback. Sir *Nicholas Criſp* hearing the Alarm, gets up, and with some of his Clothes on, and some off, comes into my Chamber: We are all undone, *says he*, the Roundheads are upon us. We had but little time to consult; but being in one of the principal Inns in the Town, we presently ordered the Gates of the Inn to be shut, and sent to all the Inns where our Men were quartered,

to

to do the like, with Orders, if they had any Back-doors, or Ways to get out, to come to us. By this means however we got ſo much time as to get on Horſeback, and ſo many of our Men came to us by Back-ways, that we had near 300 Horſe in the Yards and Places behind the Houſe; and now we began to think of Breaking out by a Lane which led from the back Side of the Inn; but a new Accident determined us another, *though a worſe* Way. The Enemy being entered, and our Men cooped up in the Yards of the Inns, Collonel *Spencer* the other Collonel, whoſe Regiment of Horſe lay alſo in the Town, had got on Horſeback before us, and engaged with the Enemy, but being over-powered, retreated fighting, and ſends to Sir *Nicholas Criſp* for Help. Sir *Nicholas* moved to ſee the Diſtreſs of his Friend, turning to me, ſays he *What can we do for him?* I told him, I thought 'twas time to help him, if poſſible; upon which, opening the Inn Gates, we ſallied out in very good Order, about 300 Horſe; and ſeveral of the Troops from other parts of the Town joining us, we recovered Collonel *Spencer*, and charging home, beat back the Enemy to their main Body: But finding their Foot drawn up in the Church-yard, and ſeveral Detachments moving to charge us, we retreated in as good Order as we could. They did not think fit to purſue us, but they took all the Carriages which were under the Convoy of this Party, and loaden with Proviſions and Ammunition, and above 500 of our Horſe. The Foot ſhifted away as well as they could: Thus we made off in a ſhattered Condition towards *Farrington*, and ſo to *Oxford*, and I was very glad my Regiment was not there.

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We had ſmall Reſt at *Oxford*, or indeed any where elſe; for the King was marched from thence, and we followed him. I was ſomething uneaſy at my Abſence from my Regiment, and did not know how the King might reſent it, which cauſed me to ride after them with all Expedition. But the Armies were engaged that very Day at *Newberry*, and I came in too late. I had not behaved my ſelf ſo as to be ſuſpected of a wilful Shunning the Action; but a Collonel of a Regiment ought to avoid Abſence from his Regiment in time of Fight, be the Excuſe never ſo juſt, as carefully as he would a Surprize in his Quarters. The *Truth is*, 'twas an Error of my own, and owing to two Days Stay I made at the *Bath*, where I met with ſome Ladies who were my Relations: And this is far from being an Excuſe; for if the King had been a *Guſtavus Adolphus*, I had certainly received a Check for it.

This Fight was very obſtinate, and could our Horſe have come to Action as freely as the Foot, the Parliament Army had ſuffered much more; for we had here a much better Body of Horſe than they, and we never failed beating them where the Weight of the Work lay upon the Horſe.

Here the City Train-Bands, of which there was two Regiments, and whom we uſed to deſpiſe, fought very well: They loſt one of their Collonels, and ſeveral Officers in the Action; and I heard our Men ſay, they behaved themſelves as well as any Forces the Parliament had.

The Parliament cried Victory here too, *as they always did*; and indeed where the Foot were concerned they had ſome Advantage; but our

Horſe defeated them evidently. The King drew up his Army in Battalia, in Perſon, and faced them all the next Day, inviting them to renew the Fight; but they had no Stomach to come on again.

It was a kind of a Hedge Fight, for neither Army was drawn out in the Field; if it had, 'twould never have held from ſix in the Morning to ten at Night: But they fought for Advantages; ſometimes one Side had the better, ſometimes another. They fought twice through the Town, in at one End, and out at the other; and in the Hedges and Lanes, with exceeding Fury. The King loſt the moſt Men, his Foot having ſuffered for want of the Succour of their Horſe, who on two ſeveral Occaſions, could not come at them. But the Parliament Foot ſuffered alſo, and two Regiments were entirely cut in Peices, and the King kept the Field.

Eſſex, the Parliament General, had the Pillage of the dead, and left us to bury them; for while we ſtood all Day to our Arms, having given them a fair Field to fight us in, their Camp Rabble ſtript the dead Bodies, and they not daring to venture a ſecond Engagement with us, marched away towards *London*.

The King Loſt in this Action the Earls of *Carnarvon* and *Sunderland*, the Lord *Falkland*, a *French* Marqueſs, and ſome very gallant Officers, and about 1200 Men. The Earl of *Carnarvon* was brought into an Inn in *Newberry*, where the King came to ſee him. He had juſt Life enough to ſpeak to his Majeſty, and died in his Preſence. The King was exceedingly concerned for him, and was obſerved to ſhed Tears at the Sight of it. We were indeed all of us troubled for the Loſs of ſo brave a Gentleman, but the Concern

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our royal Maſter diſcovered, moved us more than ordinary. Every body endeavoured to have the King out of the Room, but he would not ſtir from the Bed Side, till he ſee all Hopes of Life was gone.

The indefatigable Induſtry of the King, his Servants and Friends, continually to ſupply and recruit his Forces, and to harraſs and fatigue the Enemy, was ſuch, that we ſhould ſtill have given a good Account of the War had the *Scots* ſtood neuter. But bad News came every Day out of the North; as for other Places, Parties were always in Action: Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Ralph Hopton* beat one another by Turns; and Sir *Ralph* had extended the King's Quarters from *Launceſton* in *Cornwal* to *Farnham* in *Surry*, where he gave Sir *William Waller* a Rub, and drove him into the Caſtle.

But in the North, the Storm grew thick, the *Scots* advanced to the Borders, and entered *England* in Confederacy with the Parliament, againſt their King; for which the Parliament requited them afterwards as they deſerved.

Had it not been for this *Scotch* Army, the Parliament had eaſily been reduced to Terms of Peace: But after this they never made any Propoſals fit for the King to receive. Want of Succeſs before had made them differ among themſelves: *Eſſex* and *Waller* could never agree; the Earl of *Mancheſter* and the Lord *Willoughby* differed to the higheſt Degree; and the King's Affairs went never the worſe for it. But this Storm in the North ruined us all; for the *Scots* prevailed in *Yorkſhire*, and being joined with *Fairfax*, *Mancheſter*, and *Cromwell*, carried all before them; ſo that the King was obliged to ſend Prince *Rupert* with a Body of 4000 Horſe, to

the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, where that Prince finiſhed the Deſtruction of the King's Intereſt, by the raſheſt and unaccountableſt Action in the World, of which I ſhall ſpeak in its Place.

Another Action of the King's, though in it ſelf no greater a Cauſe of Offence than the calling the *Scots* into the Nation, gave great Offence in general, and even the King's own Friends diſliked it; and was carefully improved by his Enemies to the Diſadvantage of the King, and of his Cauſe.

The Rebels in *Ireland* had, ever ſince the bloody Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, maintained a War againſt the *Engliſh*, and the Earl of *Ormond* was General and Governour for the King. The King finding his Affairs pinch him at home, ſends Orders to the Earl of *Ormond* to conſent to a Ceſſation of Arms with the Rebels, and to ſhip over certain of his Regiments hither to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance. *'Tis true*, the *Iriſh* had deſerved to be very ill treated by the *Engliſh*; but while the Parliament preſſed the King with a cruel and unnatural War at home, and called in an Army out of *Scotland* to ſupport their Quarrel with their King, I could never be convinced, that it was ſuch a diſhonourable Action for the King to ſuſpend the Correction of his *Iriſh* Rebls, 'till he was in a Capacity to do it with Safety to himſelf; or to delay any farther Aſſiſtance to preſerve himſelf at home; and the Troops he recalled being his own, it was no Breach of his Honour to make uſe of them, ſince he now wanted them for his own Security, againſt thoſe who fought againſt him at home.

But the King was perſwaded to make one Step farther; and that, I confeſs, was unpleaſing to us all; and ſome of his beſt and moſt faithful

Servants

Servants took the Freedom to ſpeak plainly to him of it; and that was bringing ſome Regiments of the *Iriſh* themſelves over. This caſt, as we thought an *Odium* upon our whole Nation, being ſome of thoſe very Wretches who had dipt their Hands in the innocent Blood of the Proteſtants, and with unheard of Butcheries, had maſſacred ſo many Thouſands of *Engliſh* in cool Blood.

Abundance of Gentlemen forſook the King upon this Score; and ſeeing they could not brook the Fighting in Conjunction with this wicked Generation, came into the Declaration of the Parliament, and making Compoſition for their Eſtates, lived retired Lives all the reſt of the War, or went abroad.

But as Exigences and Neceſſities oblige us to do things which at other times we would not do, and is, as to Man, ſome Excuſe for ſuch things; ſo I cannot but think the Guilt and Diſhonour of ſuch an Action muſt lye, very much of it, at leaſt, at their Doors, who drove the King to theſe Neceſſities and Diſtreſſes by calling in an Army of his own Subjects whom he had not injured, but had complied with them in every thing, to make War upon him without any Provocation.

As to the Quarrel between the King and his Parliament, there may ſomething be ſaid on both Sides; and the King ſaw Cauſe himſe'f, to diſown and diſlike ſome things he had done, which the Parliament objected againſt, ſuch as levying Money without Conſent of Parliament, Infractions on their Privileges, *and the like*: Here I ſay, was ſome room for an Argument at leaſt, and Conceſſions on both Sides were needful to come to a Peace; but for the *Scots*, all their

Demands had been anſwered, all their Grievances had been redreſſed, they had made Articles with their Sovereign, and he had performed thoſe Articles; their capital Enemy Epiſcopacy was aboliſhed; they had not one thing to demand of the King which he had not granted: And therefore they had no more Cauſe to take up Arms againſt their Sovereign, than they had againſt the *Grand Senior*. But it muſt for ever lye againſt them as a Brand of Infamy, and as a Reproach on their Whole Nation that, *purchaſed by the Parliament's Money*, they ſold their *Honeſty*, and rebelled againſt their King *for Hire*; and it was not many years before, as I have ſaid already, they were fully paid the Wages of their Unrighteouſneſs, and chaſtiſed for their Treachery by the very ſame People whom they thus baſely aſſiſted: Then they would have retrieved it, if it had not been too late.

But I could not but accuſe this Age of Injuſtice and Partiality, who while they reproached the King for his Ceſſation of Arms with the *Iriſh* Rebls, and not proſecuting them with the utmoſt Severity, though he was conſtrained by the Neceſſities of the War to do it, could yet, at the ſame time, juſtify the *Scots* taking up Arms in a Quarrel they had no Concern in, and againſt their own King, with whom they had articled and capitulated, and who had ſo punctually complied with all their Demands, that they had no Claim upon him, no Grievances to be redreſſed, no Oppreſſion to cry out of, nor could ask any thing of him which he had not granted.

But as no Action in the World is ſo vile, but the Actors can cover with ſome ſpecious Pretence, ſo the *Scots* now paſſing into *England*, publiſh a Declaration to juſtify their Aſſiſting the Parlia-

Parliament: To which I ſhall only ſay, in my Opinion, it was no Juſtification at all; for admit the Parliament's Quarrel had been never ſo juſt, it could not be juſt in them to aid them, becauſe 'twas againſt their own King too, to whom they had ſworn Allegiance, or at leaſt had crowned him; and thereby had recognized his Authority: For if Male-Adminiſtration be, according to *Prynn*'s Doctrine, or according to their own *Buchanan*, a ſufficient Reaſon for Subjects to take up Arms againſt their Prince, the Breach of his Coronation Oath being ſuppoſed to diſſolve the Oath of Allegiance, which *however I cannot believe*; yet this can never be extended to make it lawful, that becauſe a King of *England* may, by Male-Adminiſtration diſcharge the Subjects of *England* from their Allegiance, that therefore the Subjects of *Scotland* may take up Arms againſt the King of *Scotland*, he having not infringed the Compact of Government as to them, and they having nothing to complain of for themſelves: Thus I thought their own Arguments were againſt them, and Heaven ſeemed to concur with it; for although they did carry the Cauſe for the *Engliſh* Rebels, yet the moſt of them left there Bones here in the Quarrel.

But what ſignifies Reaſon to the Drum and the Trumpet. The Parliament had the ſupream Argument with thoſe Men, *(viz.)* the Money; and having accordingly advanced a good round Sum, upon Payment of this, *(for the* Scots *would not ſtir a Foot without it)* they entred *England* on the 15th of *January* 1643, with an Army of 12000 Men, under the Command of old *Leſley* now Earl of *Leven*, an old Soldier of great Experience, having been bred to Arms from a Youth in the Service of the Prince of *Orange*.

The *Scots* were no ſooner entred *England*, but they were joined by all the Friends to the Parliament Party in the North; and firſt, Collonel *Grey*, Brother to the Lord *Gray*, joined them with a Regiment of Horſe, and ſeveral out of *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*, and ſo they advanced to *Newcaſtle*, which they ſummoned to ſurrender. The Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who rather ſaw, than was able to prevent this Storm, was in *Newcaſtle*, and did his beſt to defend it; but the *Scots* encreaſed by this time to above 20000, lay cloſe Siege to the Place, which was but meanly fortified; and having repulſed the Garriſon upon ſeveral Sallies, and preſſing the Place very Cloſe; after a Siege of 12 Days, or thereabouts, they enter the Town Sword in Hand. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* got away, and afterwards gathered what Forces together he could; but not ſtrong enough to hinder the *Scots* from advancing to *Durham* which he quitted to them, nor to hinder the Conjunction of the *Scots* with the Forces of *Fairfax*, *Mancheſter*, and *Cromwell*. Whereupon the Earl ſeeing all things thus going to wreck, he ſends his Horſe away, and retreats with his Foot into *York*, making all neceſſary Preparations for a vigorous Defence there, in caſe he ſhould be attacked, which he was pretty ſure of, as indeed afterwards happened. *York* was in a very good Poſture of Defence: The Fortifications very regular, and exceeding ſtrong; well furniſhed with Proviſions, and had now a Garriſon of 12000 Men in it. The Governour under the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was Sir *Thomas Glemham*, a good Souldier, and a Gentleman brave enough.

The *Scots*, as I have ſaid, having taken *Durham*, *Tinmouth* Caſtle and *Sunderland*, and being joined

joined by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had taken *Selby*, reſolve, with their united Strength, to beſiege *York*; but when they came to view the City, and ſaw a Plan of the Works, and had Intelligence of the Strength of the Garriſon, they ſent Expreſſes to *Mancheſter* and *Cromwell* for Help, who came on, and join them with 9000, making together about 30000 Men, rather more than leſs.

Now had the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s repeated Meſſengers convinced the King, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend ſome Forces to his Aſſiſtance, or elſe all would be loſt in the North. Whereupon Prince *Rupert* was detached with Orders firſt to go into *Lancaſhire*, and relieve *Latham-Houſe*, defended by the brave Counteſs of *Derby*; and then taking all the Forces he could collect in *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Yorkſhire*, to march to relieve *York*.

The Prince marched from *Oxford* with but three Regiments of Horſe, and one of Dragoons, making in all about 2800 Men. The Collonels of Horſe were Collonel *Charles Goring*, the Lord *Biron*, and my ſelf; the Dragoons were of Collonel *Smith*. In our March we were joined by a Regiment of Horſe from *Banbury*, one of Dragoons from *Briſtol*, and three Regiments of Horſe from *Cheſter*: So that when we came into *Lancaſhire*, we were about 5000 Horſe and Dragoons. Theſe Horſe we received from *Cheſter*, were thoſe who having been at the Siege of *Nantwich*, were obliged to raiſe the Siege by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; and the Foot having yielded, the Horſe made good their Retreat to *Cheſter*, being about 2000; of whom three Regiments now joined us.

We

We received alſo 2000 Foot from *Weſt-Cheſter*, and 2000 more out of *Wales*; and with this Strength we entered *Lancaſhire*. We had not much time to ſpend, and a great deal of Work to do.

Bolton and *Leverpool* felt the firſt Fury of our Prince: At *Bolton* indeed he had ſome Provocation; for here we were like to be beaten off. When firſt the Prince came to the Town, he ſent a Summons to demand the Town for the King, but received no Anſwer but from their Guns, commanding the Meſſenger to keep off at his Peril. They had raiſed ſome Works about the Town, and having by their Intelligence, learnt that we had no Artillery, and were only a flying Party, *ſo they called us*, they contemned the Summons, and ſhewed themſelves upon their Ramparts ready for us. The Prince was reſolved to humble them, if poſſible, and takes up his Quarters cloſe to the Town. In the Evening he orders me to advance with one Regiment of Dragoons, and my Horſe to bring them off, if Occaſion was, and to poſt my ſelf as near as poſſibly I could to the Lines, yet ſo as not to be diſcovered; and at the ſame time having concluded what Part of the Works to fall upon, he draws up his Men on two other Sides, as if he would Storm them there; and on a Signal I was to begin the real Aſſault on my Side, with my Dragoons. I had got ſo near the Town with my Dragoons, making them creep upon their Bellies a great way, that we could hear the Soldiers talk on the Walls, when the Prince believing one Regiment would be too few, ſends me Word, that he had ordered a Regiment of Foot to help, and that I ſhould not diſcover my ſelf till they were come up to me. This broke

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our Meaſures; for the March of this Regiment was diſcovered by the Enemy, and they took the Alarm. Upon this I ſent to the Prince, to deſire he would put off the Storm for that Night, and I would anſwer for it the next Day; but the Prince was impatient, and ſent Orders we ſhould fall on as ſoon as the Foot came up to us. The Foot marching out of the Way, miſſed us, and fell in with a Road that leads to another Part of the Town; and being not able to find us, make an Attack upon the Town themſelves; but the Defendants being ready for them, received them very warmly, and beat them off with great Loſs. I was at a Loſs now what to do; for hearing the Guns, and by the Noiſe knowing it was an Aſſault upon the Town, I was very uneaſy to have my Share in it; but as I had learnt under the King of *Sweden* punctually to adhere to the Excecution of Orders; and my Orders being to lye ſtill till the Foot came up with me; I would not ſtir if I had been ſure to have done never ſo much Service; but however to ſatisfy my ſelf, I ſent to the Prince to let him know that I continued in the ſame Place expecting the Foot, and none being yet come, I deſired farther Orders. The Prince was a little amazed at this, and finding there muſt be ſome Miſtake, came galloping away in the Dark to the Place, and drew off the Men, which was no hard Matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

As for me, the Prince ordered me to come off ſo privately, as not to be diſcovered, if poſſible, which I effectually did; and ſo we were baulked for that Night. The next Day the Prince fell on upon another Quarter with three Regiments of Foot, but was beaten off with Loſs; and the

the like a third time. At laſt, the Prince, *reſolved to carry it*, doubled his Numbers, and renewing the Attack with freſh Men, the Foot entred the Town over their Works, killing in the firſt Heat of the Action, all that came in their way; ſome of the Foot at the ſame time letting in the Horſe; and ſo the Town was entirely won. There was about 600 of the Enemy killed, and we loſt above 400 in all which was owing to the fooliſh Miſtakes we made. Our Men got ſome Plunder here, which the Parliament made a great Noiſe about; but it was their due, and they bought it dear enough.

Leverpool did not coſt us ſo much, nor did we get ſo much by it, the People having ſent their Women and Children, and beſt Goods on board the Ships in the Road; and as we had no Boats to board them with, we could not get at them. Here, as at *Bolton*, the Town and Fort was taken by Storm, and the Garriſon were many of them cut in Pieces, which by the way was their own Faults.

Our next Stop was *Latham-Houſe*, which the Counteſs of *Derby* had gallantly defended above 18 Weeks, againſt the Parliament Forces; and this Lady not only encouraged her Men by her chearful and noble Maintenance of them, but by Examples of her own undaunted Spirit, expoſing her ſelf upon the Walls in the midſt of the Enemy's Shot, would be with her Men in the greateſt Dangers; and ſhe well deſerved our Care of her Perſon; for the Enemy were prepaired to uſe her very rudely if ſhe fell into their Hands.

Upon our Approach, the Enemy drew off; and the Prince not only effectually relieved this

vigorous

vigorous Lady, but left her a good Quantity of all Sorts of Ammunition, three great Guns, 500 Arms, and 200 Men, commanded by a Major, as her extraordinary Guard.

Here the Way being now opened, and our Succeſs anſwering our Expectation, ſeveral Bodies of Foot came in to us from *Weſtmoreland*, and from *Cumberland*; and here it was that the Prince found Means to ſurprize the Town of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, which was recovered for the King, by the Management of the Mayor of the Town, and ſome loyal Gentlemen of the County, and a Garriſon placed there again for the King.

But our main Deſign being the Relief of *York*, the Prince advanced that Way a-pace, his Army ſtill increaſing; and being joined by the Lord *Goring* from *Richmondſhire* with 4000 Horſe, which were the ſame the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had ſent away when he threw himſelf into *York* with the Infantry. We were now 18000 effective Men, whereof 10000 Horſe and Dragoons; ſo the Prince, full of Hopes, and his Men in good Heart, boldly marched directly for *York*.

The *Scots*, as much ſurprized at the taking of *Newcaſtle*, as at the coming of their Enemy, began to enquire which Way they ſhould get home, if they ſhould be beaten; and calling a Council of War, they all agreed to raiſe the Siege. The Prince, who drew with him a great Train of Carriages charged with Proviſion and Ammunition, for the Relief of the City, like a wary General, kept at a Diſtance from the Enemy, and fetching a great Compaſs about, brings all ſafe into the City, and enters into *York* himſelf with all his Army.

No Action of this whole War had gained the Prince ſo much Honour, or the King's Affairs

fairs ſo much Advantage as this, had the Prince but had the Power to have reſtrained his Courage after this, and checked his fatal Eagerneſs for Fighting. Here was a Siege raiſed, the Reputation of the Enemy juſtly ſlurred, a City relieved and furniſhed, with all things neceſſary in the Face of an Army ſuperior in Number by near 10000 Men, and commanded by a Triumvirate of Generals *Leven*, *Fairfax* and *Mancheſter*. Had the Prince but remembered the Proceeding of the great Duke of *Parma* at the Relief of *Paris*, he would have ſeen the relieving the City was his Buſineſs; 'twas the Enemy's Buſineſs to fight, if poſſible, 'twas his to avoid it; for, having delivered the City, and put the Diſgrace of raiſing the Siege upon the Enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had ſeen what Courſe the Enemy would take, and taken his farther Meaſures from their Motion.

But *the Prince*, a continual Friend to precipitant Counſels, would hear no Advice: I entreated him not to put it to the Hazard; I told him, that he ought to conſider if he loſt the Day, he loſt the Kingdom, and took the Crown off from the King's Head. I put him in mind that it was impoſſible thoſe three Generals ſhould continue long together; and that if they did, they would not agree long in their Counſels: Which would be as well for us as their ſeparating. 'Twas plain *Mancheſter* and *Cromwell* muſt return to the aſſociated Counties, who would not ſuffer them to ſtay, for fear the King ſhould attempt them; That he could ſubſiſt well enough, having *York* City and River at his Back; but the *Scots* would eat up the Country, make themſelves odious, and dwindle away to nothing

nothing, if he would but hold them at Bay a little; other General Officers were of the ſame Mind; but all I could ſay, or they either, to a Man deaf to any thing but his own Courage, ſignified nothing. He would draw out and fight, there was no perſwading him to the contrary, unleſs a Man would run the Riſque of being upbraided with being a Coward, and afraid of the Work. The Enemy's Army lay on a large Common, called *Marſton-Moor*, doubtful what to do: Some were for fighting the Prince, the *Scots* were againſt it, being uneaſy at having the Garriſon of *Newcaſtle* at their Backs; but the Prince brought their Councils of War to a Reſult; for he let them know, they muſt fight him, whether they would or no; for the Prince being, *as before*, 18000 Men, and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* having joined him with 8000 Foot out of the City, were marched in Queſt of the Enemy, had entered the Moor in View of their Army, and began to draw up in Order of Battle; but the Night coming on, the Armies only viewed each other at a Diſtance for that time. We lay all Night upon our Arms, and with the firſt of the Day were in Order of Battle; the Enemy was getting ready, but part of *Manchester*'s Men were not in the Field, but lay about three Miles off, and made a haſty March to come up.

The Prince his Army was exceedingly well managed; he himſelf commanded the Left Wing, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* the Right Wing; and the Lord *Goring*, as General of the Foot, aſſiſted by Major General *Porter*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, led the main Battle. I had prevailed with the Prince, according to the Method of the King of *Sweden*, to place ſome ſmall Bodies of Muſqueteers in

in the Intervals of his Horſe, in the Left Wing, but could not prevail upon the Earl of *Newcaſtle* to do it in the Right; which he afterwards repented. In this Poſture we ſtood facing the Enemy, expecting they would advance to us, which at laſt they did; and the Prince began the Day by ſaluting them with his Artillery, which being placed very well, galled them terribly for a Quarter of an Hour; they could not ſhift their Front, ſo they advanced the haſtier to get within our great Guns, and conſequently out of their Danger, which brought the Fight the ſooner on.

The Enemy's Army was thus ordered; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had the Right Wing, in which was the *Scots* Horſe, and the Horſe of his own and his Father's Army; *Cromwell* led the Left Wing, with his own and the Earl *Mancheſter*'s Horſe, and the three Generals *Leſley*, old *Fairfax*, and *Mancheſter*, led the main Battle.

The Prince, with our Left Wing, fell on firſt, and, with his uſual Fury, broke, like a Clap of Thunder, into the Right Wing of the *Scots* Horſe, led by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; and, as nothing could ſtand in his Way, he broke through and through them, and entirely routed them, purſuing them quite out of the Field. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with a Regiment of Lances, and about 500 of his own Horſe, made good the Ground for ſome time; but our Muſqueteers, which, as I ſaid, were placed among our Horſe were ſuch an unlooked for ſort of an Article in a Fight among the Horſe, that thoſe Lances, which otherwiſe were brave Fellows, were mowed down with their Shot, and all was put into Confuſion. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was wounded in the Face, his Brother killed, and a great

great Slaughter was made of the *Scots*; to whom I confeſs we ſhewed no Favour at all.

While this was doing on our Left, the Lord *Goring* with the main Battle charged the Enemy's Foot, and particulary one Brigade commanded by Major General *Porter*, being moſtly Pikemen, not regarding the Fire of the Enemy, charged with that Fury in a cloſe Body of Pikes, that they overturned all that came in their Way, and breaking into the Middle of the Enemy's Foot, filled all with Terror and Confuſion, inſomuch that the three Generals thinking all had been loſt, fled, and quitted the Field.

But Matters went not ſo well with that *always Unfortunate* Gentleman the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and our Right Wing of Horſe; for *Cromwell* charged the Earl of *Newcaſtle* with a powerful Body of Horſe; and though the Earl, and thoſe about him, did what Men could do, and behaved themſelves with all poſſible Gallantry, yet there was no withſtanding *Cromwell*'s Horſe; but, like Prince *Rupert*, they bore down all before them; and now the Victory was wrung out of our Hands by our own groſs Miſcarriage; for the Prince, as 'twas his Cuſtom, too eager in the Chaſe of the Enemy, was gone, and could not be heard of: The Foot in the Center, the Right Wing of the Horſe being routed by *Cromwell*, was left, and without the Guard of his Horſe; *Cromwell* having routed the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and beaten him quite out of the Field, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* rallying his diſperſed Troops, they fall all together upon the Foot. General Lord *Goring*, like himſelf, fought like a Lion, but, forſaken of his Horſe, was hemmed in on all Sides, and overthrown; and an Hour

after this, the Prince returning too late to recover his Friends, was obliged with the reſt to quit the Field to Conquerors.

This was a fatal Day to the King's Affairs, and the Riſque too much for any Man in his Wits to run; we loſt 4000 Men on the Spot, 3000 Priſoners, amongſt whom was Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tillier*, and about 170 Gentlemen of Quality. We loſt all our Baggage, 25 Pieces of Cannon, 300 Carriages, 150 Barrels of Powder, and 10000 Arms.

The Prince got into *York* with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and a great many Gentlemen, and 7 or 8000 of the Men, as well Horſe as Foot.

I had but very courſe Treatment in this Fight; for returning with the Prince from the Purſuit of the Right Wing, and finding all loſt, I halted with ſome other Officers, to conſider what to do: At firſt we were for making our Retreat in a Body, and might have done ſo well enough, if we had known what had happened, before we ſaw our ſelves in the Middle of the Enemy; for Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had got together his ſcattered Troops, and joined by ſome of the Left Wing, knowing who we were, charged us with great Fury. 'Twas not a Time to think of any thing but getting away, or dying upon the Spot; the Prince kept on in the Front, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, by this Charge cut off about three Regiments of us from our Body; but bending his main Strength at the Prince, left us, as it were, behind him, in the Middle of the Field of Battle. We took this for the only Opportunity we could have to get off, and joining together, we made croſs the Place of Battle in as good Order as we could,

with

with our Carabines preſented. In this Poſture we paſſed by ſeveral Bodies of the Enemy's Foot, who ſtood with their Pikes charged to keep us off; but they had no Occaſion, for we had no Deſign to meddle with them, but to get from them. Thus we made a ſwift March, and thought our ſelves pretty ſecure, but our Work was not done yet; for, on a ſudden, we ſaw our ſelves under a Neceſſity of Fighting our Way through a great Body of *Mancheſter*'s Horſe, who came galloping upon us over the Moor. They had as, we ſuppoſe, been purſuing ſome of our broken Troops, which were fled before, and ſeeing us, they gave us a home Charge. We received them as well as could, but puſhed to get through them, which at laſt we did with a conſiderable Loſs to them. However, we loſt ſo many Men, either killed or ſeparated from us, (for all could not follow the ſame Way) that of our three Regiments we could not be above 400 Horſe together, when we got quite clear, and theſe were mixt Men, ſome of one Troop and Regiment, ſome of another. Not that I believe many of us were killed in the laſt Attack; for we had plainly the better of the Enemy; but our Deſign being to get off, ſome ſhifted for themſelves one Way, and ſome another, in the beſt Manner they could, and as their ſeveral Fortunes guided them. 400 more of this Body, as I afterwards underſtood, having broke through the Enemy's Body another Way, kept together, and got into *Pontfract* Caſtle, and 300 more, made Northward, and to *Skippon*, were the Prince afterwards fetched them off.

Thoſe few of us that were left together, with whom I was, being now pretty clear of Pur-

ſuit, halted, and began to enquire who and who we were, and what we ſhould do; and on a ſhort Debate, I propoſed we ſhould make to the firſt Garriſon of the King's that we could recover; and that we ſhould keep together, leſt the Country People ſhould inſult us upon the Roads. With this Reſolution we puſhed on Weſtward for *Lancaſhire*; but our Misfortunes were not yet at an End: We travelled very hard, and got to a Village upon the River *Wharf*, near *Wetherby*. At *Wetherby* there was a Bridge, but we underſtood that a Party from *Leeds* had ſecured the Town and the Poſt, in order to ſtop the flying Cavaliers; and that 'twould be very hard to get through there; though, as we underſtood afterwards, there were no Soldiers there but a Guard of the Townſmen. In this Pickle we conſulted what Courſe to take; to ſtay where we were till Morning, we all concluded would not be ſafe; ſome adviſed to take the Stream with our Horſes; but the River, which is deep, and the Current ſtrong, ſeemed to bid us have a care what we did of that Kind, eſpecially in the Night. We reſolved therefore to refreſh our ſelves and our Horſes, *which indeed is more than we did*, and go on till we might come to a Ford or Bridge, where we might get over. Some Guides we had, but they either were fooliſh or falſe; for after we had rid eight or nine Miles, they plunged us into a River, at a Place they called a Ford, but 'twas a very ill one; for moſt of our Horſes ſwam, and ſeven or eight were loſt, but we ſaved the Men; however, we got all over.

We made bold with our firſt Convenience to treſpaſs upon the Country for a few Horſes, where

where we could find them, to remount our Men, whoſe Horſes were drowned, and continued our March; but being obliged to refreſh our ſelves at a ſmall Village on the Edge of *Bramham-moor*, we found the Country alarmed by our taking ſome Horſes, and we were no ſooner got on Horſeback in the Morning, and entering on the Moor, but we underſtood we were purſued by ſome Troops of Horſe: There was no Remedy but we muſt paſs this Moor; and though our Horſes were exceedingly tired, yet we preſſed on upon a round Trot, and recovered an encloſed Country on the other Side, where we halted. And here, Neceſſity putting us upon it, we were obliged to look out for more Horſes, for ſeveral of our Men were diſmounted, and others Horſes diſabled by carrying double, thoſe who loſt their Horſes getting up behind them; but we were ſupplied by our Enemies againſt their Will.

The Enemy followed us over the Moor, and we having a woody encloſed Country about us, where we were, I obſerved by their moving, they had loſt Sight of us; upon which I propoſed concealing our ſelves till we might judge of their Numbers. We did ſo, and lying cloſe in a Wood, they paſt haſtily by us, without skirting or ſearching the Wood, which was what on another Occaſion they would not have done. I found they were not above 150 Horſe, and conſidering, that to let them go before us, would be to alarm the Country, and ſtop our Deſign; I thought, ſince we might be able to deal with them, we ſhould not meet with a better Place for it, and told the reſt of our Officers my Mind, which all our Party preſently, (for we not had Time for a long Debate) agreed

to. Immediately upon this I cauſed two Men to fire their Piſtols in the Wood, at two different Places, as far aſunder as I could. This I did to give them an Alarm, and amuſe them; for being in the Lane, they would otherwiſe have got through before we had been ready, and I reſolved to engage them there, as ſoon as 'twas poſſible. After this Alarm, we ruſhed out of the Wood, with about 100 Horſe, and charged them on the Flank in a broad Lane, the Wood being on their Right. Our Paſſage into the Lane being narrow, gave us ſome Difficulty in our getting out; but the Surprize of the Charge did our Work; for the Enemy thinking we had been a Mile or two before, had not the leaſt Thoughts of this Onſet, till they heard us in the Wood, and then they who were before could not come back. We broke into the Lane juſt in the Middle of them, and by that means divided them; and facing to the Left, charged the Rear. Firſt our diſmounted Men, which were near 50, lined the Edge of the Wood, and fired with their Carabines upon thoſe which were before, ſo warmly, that they put them into a great Diſorder: Mean while 50 more of our Horſe from the farther Part of the Wood ſhewed themſelves in the Lane upon their Front; this put them of the foremoſt Party into a great Perplexity, and they began to face about, to fall upon us who were engaged in the Rear: But their facing about in a Lane where there was no Room to wheel, and one who underſtands the Manner of wheeling a Troop of Horſe, muſt imagine, put them into a great Diſorder. Our Party in the Head of the Lane taking the Advantage of this Miſtake of the Enemy, charged in upon them,

them, and routed them entirely. Some found means to break into the Encloſures on the other Side of the Lane, and get away. About 30 were killed, and about 25 made Priſoners, and 40 very good Horſes were taken; all this while not a Man of ours was loſt, and not above ſeven or eight wounded. Thoſe in the Rear behaved themſelves better; for they ſtood our Charge with a great deal of Reſolution, and all we could do, could not break them; but at laſt our Men who had fired on Foot through the Hedges at the other Party, coming to do the like here, there was no ſtanding it any longer. The Rear of them faced about, and retreated out of the Lane, and drew up in the open Field to receive and rally their Fellows. We killed about 17 of them, and followed them to the End of the Lane, but had no mind to have any more fighting than needs muſt; our Condition at that time not making it proper, the Towns round us being all in the Enemy's Hands, and the Country but indifferently pleaſed with us; however, we ſtood facing them till they thought fit to march away. Thus we were ſupplied with Horſes enough to remount our Men, and purſued our firſt Deſign of getting into *Lancaſhire*. As for our Priſoners, we let them go off on Foot.

But the Country being by this time alarmed, and the Rout of our Army every where known, we foreſaw Abundance of Difficulties before us; we were not ſtrong enough to venture into any great Towns, and we were too many to be concealed in ſmall ones. Upon this we reſolved to halt in a great Wood about three Miles beyond the Place, where we had the laſt Skirmiſh, and ſent out Scouts to diſcover the

Country, and learn what they could, either of the Enemy, or of our Friends.

Any Body may ſuppoſe we had but indifferent Quarters here, either for our ſelves or for our Horſes; but however, we made ſhift to lye here two Days and one Night. In the interim I took upon me, with two more, to go to *Leeds* to learn ſome News; we were diſguiſed like Country Ploughmen; the Clothes we got at a Farmer's Houſe, which for that particular Occaſion we plundered; and I cannot ſay no Blood was ſhed in a Manner too raſh, and which I could not have done at another Time; but our Caſe was deſperate, and the People too ſurly, and ſhot at us out the Window, wounded one Man and ſhot a Horſe, which we counted as great a Loſs to us as a Man, for our Safety depended upon our Horſes. Here we got Clothes of all Sorts enough for both Sexes, and thus dreſſing my ſelf up *a la Paiſant*, with a white Cap on my Head, and a Fork on my Shoulder, and one of my Comerades in the Farmer's Wife's Ruſſet Gown and Petticoat, like a Woman; the other with an old Crutch like a lame Man, and all mounted on ſuch Horſes as we had taken the Day before from the Country. Away we go to *Leeds* by three ſeveral Ways, and agreed to meet upon the Bridge. My pretended Country Woman acted her Part to the Life, though the Party was a Gentleman of good Quality of the Earl of *Worceſter*'s Family, and the Cripple did as well he; but I thought my ſelf very awkward in my Dreſs, which made me very ſhy, eſpecially among the Soldiers. We paſſed their Centinels and Guards at *Leeds* unobſerved, and put up our Horſes at ſeveral Houſes in the Town, from whence we went up and down to make

our

our Remarks. My Cripple was the fitteſt to go among the Soldiers, becauſe there was leſs Danger of being preſſed: There he informed himſelf of the Matters of War, particularly that the Enemy ſat down again to the Siege of *York*; that flying Parties were in Purſuit of the Cavaliers; and there he heard that 500 Horſe of the Lord *Mancheſter*'s Men had followed a Party of Cavaliers over *Bramham Moor*; and, that entering a Lane, the Cavaliers, who were 1000 ſtrong, fell upon them, and killed them all but about 50. This, though it was a Lie, was very pleaſant to us to hear, knowing it was our Party, becauſe of the other part of the Story, which was thus; that the Cavaliers had taken Poſſeſſion of ſuch a Wood, where they rallied all the Troops of their flying Army; that they had plundered the Country as they came, taking all the Horſes they could get; that they had plundered Goodman *Thompſon*'s Houſe, which was the Farmer I mentioned, and killed Man, Woman and Child; and that they were about 2000 ſtrong.

My other Friend in Woman's Clothes got among the good Wives at an Inn, where ſhe ſet up her Horſe, and there ſhe heard the ſame ſad and dreadful Tidings; and that this Party was ſo ſtrong, none of the neighbouring Garriſons durſt ſtir out; but that they had ſent Expreſſes to *York* for a Party of Horſe to come to their Aſſiſtance.

I walked up and down the Town, but fancied my ſelf ſo ill diſguiſed, and ſo eaſy to be known, that I cared not to talk with any Body. We met at the Bridge exactly at our Time, and compared our Intelligence, found it anſwered our End of coming, and that we had nothing

thing to do but to get back to our Men; but my Cripple told me, he would not ſtir till he bought ſome Victuals: So away he hops with his Crutch, and buys four or five great Pieces of Bacon, as many of hung Beef, and two or three Loaves; and, borrowing a Sack at the Inn (which I ſuppoſe he never reſtored,) he loads his Horſe, and, getting a large Leather Bottle, he filled that of *Aquavitæ* inſtead of ſmall Beer; my Woman Comerade did the like. I was uneaſy in my Mind, and took no Care but to get out of the Town; however, we all came off well enough; but 'twas well for me that I had no Proviſions with me, as you will hear preſently. We came, as I ſaid, into the Town by ſeveral Ways, and ſo we went out; but about three Miles from the Town we met again exactly where we had agreed: I being about a Quarter of a Mile from the reſt, I meets three Country Fellows on Horſeback; one had a long Pole on his Shoulder, another a Fork, the third no Weapon at all, that I ſaw; I gave them the Road very orderly, being habited like one of their Brethren; but one of them ſtopping ſhort at me, and looking earneſtly, calls out, *Hark thee, Friend*, ſays he, in a broad North Country Tone, *whar haſt thou thilk Horſe?* I muſt confeſs I was in the utmoſt Confuſion at the Queſtion, neither being able to anſwer the Queſtion, nor to ſpeak in his Tone; ſo I made as if I did not hear him, and went on. *Na, but ye's not gang ſoa*, ſays the Boor, and comes up to me, and takes hold of the Horſe's Bridle to ſtop me; at which, vexed at Heart that I could not tell how to talk to him, I reached him a great Knock on the Pate with my Fork, and fetched him off of his Horſe, and then began to mend my Pace. The other

Clowns

Clowns, though it ſeems they knew not what the Fellow wanted, purſued me, and, finding they had better Heels than I, I ſaw there was no Remedy but to make uſe of my Hands, and faced about. The firſt that came up with me was he that had no Weapons, ſo I thought I might parley with him; and, ſpeaking as Country like as I could, I asked him what he wanted? *Thou'ſt knaw that ſoon*, ſays *Yorkſhire, and Iſe but come at thee. Then keep awa' Man*, ſaid I, *or Iſe brain thee.* By this Time the third Man came up, and the Parley ended; for he gave me no Words but laid at me with his long Pole, and that with ſuch Fury, that I began to be doubtful of him: I was loath to ſhoot the Fellow, though I had Piſtols under my grey Frock, as well for that the Noiſe of a Piſtol might bring more People in, the Village being on our Rear; and alſo becauſe I could not imagine what the Fellow meant, or would have; but at laſt finding he would be too many for me with that long Weapon, and a hardy ſtrong Fellow, I threw my ſelf off of my Horſe, and running in with him, ſtabbed my Fork into his Horſe; the Horſe being wounded, ſtaggered a while, and then fell down, and the Booby had not the Senſe to get down in time, but fell with him; upon which, giving him a knock or two with my Fork, I ſecured him. The other, by this Time, had furniſhed himſelf with a great Stick out of a Hedge, and, before I was diſingaged from the laſt Fellow, gave me two ſuch Blows, that if the laſt had not miſſed my Head, and hit me on the Shoulder, I had ended the Fight and my Life together. 'Twas time to look about me now, for this was a mad Man; I defended my ſelf with my Fork, but 'twould not do; at laſt, in ſhort

ſhort, I was forced to Piſtol him, and get on Horſeback again, and, with all the Speed I could make get away to the Wood to our Men.

If my two Fellow Spies had not been behind, I had never known what was the Meaning of this Quarrel of the three Countrymen, but my Cripple had all the Particulars; for he being behind us, as I have already obſerved, when he came up to the firſt Fellow, who began the Fray, he found him beginning to come to himſelf; ſo he gets off, and pretends to help him, and ſets him up upon his Breech, and being a very merry Fellow, talked to him, *Well and what's the Matter now*, ſays he to him, *ah wae's me*, ſays the Fellow, *I is killed: Not quite Mon*, ſays the Cripple. O that's *a fau Thief*, ſays he, and thus they parlied. My Cripple got him on's Feet, and gave him a Dram of his *Aqua Vitæ* Bottle, and made much of him, in order to know what was the Occaſion of the Quarrel. Our diſguiſed Woman pitied the Fellow too, and together they ſet him up again upon his Horſe, and then he told him that that Fellow was got upon one of his Brother's Horſes who lived at *Wetherby:* They ſaid the Cavaliers ſtole him, but 'twas like ſuch Rogues; no Miſchief could be done in the Country, but 'twas the poor Cavaliers muſt bear the Blame, and the like; and thus they jogged on till they came to the Place where the other two lay. The firſt Fellow they aſſiſted as they had done t'other, and gave him a Dram out of the Leather Bottle; but the laſt Fellow was paſt their Care; ſo they came away: For when they underſtood that 'twas my Horſe, they claimed, they began to be affraid that their own Horſes might be known too, and then they had been

betraid

betraid in a worſe Pickle than I, and muſt have been forced to have done ſome Miſchief or other to have got away.

I had ſent out two Troopers to fetch them off, if their was any Occaſion; but their Stay was not long, and the two Troopers ſaw them at a Diſtance coming towards us, ſo they returned.

I had enough of going for a Spy, and my Companions had enough of ſtaying in the Wood; for other Intelligences agreed with ours, and all concurred in this, that it was time to be going; however, this Uſe we made of it, that while the Country thought us ſo ſtrong we were in the leſs Danger of being attacked, though in the more of being obſerved; but all this while we heard nothing of our Friends, till the next Day. We heard Prince *Rupert*, with about 1000 Horſe, was at *Skipton*, and from thence marched away to *Weſtmoreland*.

We concluded now we had two or three Days time good; for, ſince Meſſengers were ſent to *York* for a Party to ſuppreſs us, we muſt have at leaſt two Days March of them, and therefore all concluded we were to make the beſt of our Way; early in the Morning therefore we decamped from thoſe dull Quarters; and as we marched through a Village, we found the People very civil to us, and the Woman cried out, *God bleſs them, 'tis pity the Roundheads ſhould make ſuch Woork with ſuch brave Men*, and the like. Finding we were among our Friends, we reſolved to halt a little and refreſh our ſelves; and, indeed, the People were very kind to us, gave us Victuals and Drink, and took Care of our Horſes. It happened to be my Lot to ſtop at a Houſe where the good Woman took a great deal of Pains

to

to provide for us; but I obſerved the good Man walked about with a Cap upon his Head, and very much out of Order, I took no great Notice of it, being very ſleepy, and having asked my Landlady to let me have a Bed, I lay down and ſlept heartily: When I waked I found my Landlord on another Bed groaning very heavily.

When I came down Stairs, I found my Cripple talking with my Landlady; he was now out of his Diſguiſe, but we called him Cripple ſtill; and the other, who put on the Woman's Clothes, we called Goody *Thompſon*. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he called me out, *Do you know*, ſays he *the Man of the Houſe you are quartered in? No, not I*, ſays I. *No, ſo I believe, nor they you*, ſays he, *if they did, the good Wife would not have made you a Poſſet, and fetched a white Loaf for you. What do you mean*, ſays I. *Have you ſeen the Man* ſays he? *Seen him*, ſays I, *yes, and heard him too; the Man's Sick, and groans ſo heavily*, ſays I, *that I could not lye upon the Bed any longer for him. Why, this is the poor Man*, ſays he, *that you knocked down with your Fork Yeſterday, and I have had all the Story out yonder at the next Door.* I confeſs it grieved me to have been forced to treat one ſo roughly who was one of our Friends, but to make ſome amends, we contrived to give the poor Man his Brother's Horſe; and my Cripple told him a formal Story, that he believed the Horſe was taken away from the Fellow by ſome of our Men; and, if he knew him again, if 'twas his Friend's Horſe, he ſhould have him. The Man came down upon the News, and I cauſed ſix or ſeven Horſes, which were taken at the ſame time, to be ſhewn him; he immediately choſe the right; ſo I gave him the Horſe, and we

preten-

pretended a great deal of Sorrow for the Man's Hurt; and that we had not knocked the Fellow on the Head as well as took away the Horſe. The Man was ſo over-joyed at the Revenge he thought was taken on the Fellow, that we heard him groan no more. We ventured to ſtay all Day at this Town, and the next Night, and got Guides to lead us to *Blackſtone Edge*, a Ridge of Mountains which part this Side of *Yorkſhire* from *Lancaſhire*. Early in the Morning we marched, and kept our Scouts very carefully out every Way, who brought us no News for this Day; we kept on all Night, and made our Horſes do Penance for that little Reſt they had, and the next Morning we paſſed the Hills, and got into *Lancaſhire*, to a Town called *Littlebury*; and from thence to *Rochedale*, a little Market-Town. And now we thought our ſelves ſafe as to the Purſuit of Enemies from the Side of *York*; our Deſign was to get to *Bolton*, but all the County was full of the Enemy in flying Parties, and how to get to *Bolton* we knew not. At laſt we reſolved to ſend a Meſſenger to *Bolton*; but he came back and told us, he had with lurking and hiding, tried all the Ways that he thought poſſible, but to no Purpoſe; for he could not get into the Town. We ſent another, and he never returned; and ſome time after we underſtood he was taken by the Enemy. At loſt one got into the Town, but brought us Word, they were tired out with conſtant Alarms, had been ſtraitly blocked up, and every Day expected a Siege, and therefore adviſed us either to go Northward, where Prince *Rupert*, and the Lord *Goring* ranged at Liberty; or to get over *Warrington* Bridge, and ſo ſecure our Retreat to *Cheſter*. This double Direction divided our Opinions; I

was for getting into *Cheſter*, both to recruit my ſelf with Horſes and with Money, both which I wanted, and to get Refreſhment, which we all wanted; but the major Part of our Men were for the North. Firſt they ſaid, there was their General, and 'twas their Duty to the Cauſe, and the King's Intereſt obliged us to go where we could do beſt Service; and there was their Friends, and every Man might hear ſome News of his own Regiment, for we belonged to ſeveral Regiments; beſides, all the Towns to to the Left of us, were poſſeſſed by Sir *William Brereton*, *Warrington* and *Northwich*, Garriſoned by the Enemy, and a ſtrong Party at *Mancheſter*; ſo that 'twas very likely we ſhould be beaten and diſperſed before we could get to *Cheſter*. Theſe Reaſons, and eſpecially the laſt, determined us for the North, and we had reſolved to march the next Morning, when other Intelligence brought us to more ſpeedy Reſolutions. We kept our Scouts continually abroad, to bring us Intelligence of the Enemy, whom we expected on our Backs, and alſo to keep an Eye upon the Country; for as we lived upon them ſomething at large, they were ready enough to do us any ill Turn, as it lay in their Power.

The firſt Meſſenger that came to us, was from our Friends at *Bolton*, to inform us, that they were preparing at *Mancheſter* to attack us: One of our Parties had been as far as *Stockport*, on the Edge of *Cheſhire*, and was purſued by a Party of the Enemy, but got off by the Help of the Night. Thus all things looking black to the South, we had reſolved to march Northward in the Morning, when one of our Scouts from the Side of *Mancheſter* aſſured us, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with ſome of the Parliament Forces, and

the Country Troops, making above 1200 Men, were on their March to attack us, and would certainly beat up our Quarters that Night. Upon this Advice we reſolved to be gone; and getting all things in Readineſs, we began to march about two Hours before Night: And having gotten a truſty Fellow for a Guide, a Fellow that we found was a Friend to our Side, he put a Project into my Head, which ſaved us all for that time; and that was, to give out in the Village, that we were marched back to *Yorkſhire*, reſolving to get into *Pontfract* Caſtle; and accordingly he leads us out of the Town the ſame way we came in; and taking a Boy with him, he ſends the Boy back juſt at Night, and bad him ſay he ſaw us go up the Hills at *Blackſtone-Edge*; and it happened very well; for this Party were ſo ſure of us, that they had placed 400 Men on the Road to the Northward, to intercept our Retreat that Way, and had left no Way for us, as they thought, to get away, but back again.

About Ten a Clock at Night, they aſſaulted our Quarters, but found we were gone; and being informed which way, they followed upon the Spur, and travelling all Night, being Moon-Light, they found themſelves the next Day about 15 Miles Eaſt, juſt out of their Way; for we had by the Help of our Guide, turned ſhort at the Foot of the Hills, and through blind, untrodden Paths, and with Difficulty enough, by Noon the next Day, had reached almoſt 25 Miles North near a Town called *Clithero*. Here we halted in the open Field, and ſent out our People to ſee how things were in the Country. This Part of the Country almoſt unpaſſable, and walled round with Hills, was indifferent quiet, and we got ſome Refreſhment for our

ſelves, but very little Horſemeat, and ſo went on; but we had not marched far before we found our ſelves diſcovered; and the 400 Horſe ſent to lye in wait for us as before, having underſtood which way we went, followed us hard; and by Letters to ſome of their Friends at *Preſton*, we found we were beſet again. Our Guide began now to be out of his Knowledge, and our Scouts brought us Word, the Enemy's Horſe was poſted before us, and we knew they were in our Rear. In this Exigence, we reſolved to divide our ſmall Body, and ſo amuſing them, at leaſt one might get off, if the other miſcarried. I took about 80 Horſe with me, among which were all that I had of our own Regiment, amounting to above 32, and took the Hills towards *Yorkſhire*. Here we met with ſuch unpaſſable Hills, vaſt Moors, Rocks, and ſtony Ways, as lamed all our Horſes, and tired our Men; and ſometimes I was ready to think we ſhould never be able to get over them, till our Horſes failing, and Jack-boots being but indifferent things to travel in, we might be ſtarved before we ſhould find any Road, or Towns, (for Guide we had none) but a Boy who knew but little, and would cry, when we asked him any Queſtions. I believe neither Men nor Horſes ever paſſed in ſome Places where we went, and for 20 Hours we ſaw not a Town nor a Houſe, excepting ſometimes from the Top of the Mountains, at a vaſt Diſtance. I am perſwaded we might have encamped here, if we had had Proviſions, till the War had been over, and have met with no Diſturbance; and I have often wondered ſince, how we got into ſuch horrible Places, as much as how got out. That which was worſe to us than all the reſt, was, that we knew not where we were going,

nor what Part of the Country we ſhould come into, when we came out of thoſe deſolate Craggs. At laſt, after a terrible Fatigue, we began to ſee the Weſtern Parts of *Yorkſhire*, ſome few Villages, and the Country at a Diſtance, looked a little like *England*; for I thought before it looked like old *Brennus* Hill, which the *Griſons* call the Grandfather of the *Alps*. We got ſome Relief in the Villages, which indeed ſome of us had ſo much need of, that they were hardly able to ſit their Horſes, and others were forced to help them off, they were ſo faint. I never felt ſo much of the Power of Hunger in my Life; for having not eaten in 30 Hours, I was as ravenous as a Hound; and if I had had a Piece of Horſe-fleſh, I believe I ſhould not have had Patience to have ſtaid Dreſſing it, but have fallen upon it raw, and have eaten it as greedily as a *Tartar*.

However, I eat very cautiouſly, having often ſeen the Danger of Mens eating heartily after long Faſting. Our next Care was to enquire our Way. *Halliſax*, they told us, was on our right; there we durſt not think of going; *Skippon* was before us, and there we knew not how it was; for a Body of 3000 Horſe, ſent out by the Enemy in Purſuit of Prince *Rupert*, had been there but two Days before, and the Country People could not tell us, whether they were gone, or no: And *Mancheſter*'s Horſe, which were ſent out after our Party, were then at *Halliſax*, in Queſt of us, and afterwards marched into *Cheſhire*. In this Diſtreſs we would have hired a Guide, but none of the Country People would go with us; for the Roundheads would hang them, they ſaid, when they came there. Upon this I called a Fellow to me, *Harke ye friend*, ſays I, *doſt thee*

know the Way ſo as to bring us into Weſtmoreland, *and not keep the great Road from* York? *Ay merry,* ſays he, *I ken the Ways weel enou; and you would go and guide us,* ſaid I, *but that you are afraid the Roundheads will hang you? Indeed would I,* ſays the Fellow. *Why then,* ſays I, *thou hadſt as good be hanged by a Roundhead as a Cavalier; for if thou wilt not go, I'll hang thee juſt now. Na, and ye ſerve me ſoa,* ſays the Fellow, *Iſe ene gang with ye; for I care not for Hanging; and ye'l get me a good Horſe, Iſe gang and be one of ye, for I'll nere come heame mere.* This pleaſed us ſtill better, and we mounted the Fellow; for three of our Men died that Night with the extreme Fatigue of the laſt Service.

Next Morning, when our new Trooper was mounted and cloathed, we hardly knew him; and this Fellow led us by ſuch Ways, ſuch Wilderneſſes, and yet with ſuch Prudence, keeping the Hills to the left, that we might have the Villages to refreſh our ſelves, that without him, we had certainly either periſhed in thoſe Mountains, or fallen into the Enemy's Hands. We paſſed the great Road from *York* ſo critically as to time, that from one of the Hills he ſhewed us a Party of the Enemy's Horſe, who were then marching into *Weſtmoreland.* We lay ſtill that Day, finding we were not diſcovered by them; and our Guide proved the beſt Scout that we could have had; for he would go out ten Miles at a time, and bring us in all the News of the Country: Here he brought us word, that *York* was ſurrendered upon Articles, and that *Newcaſtle,* which had been ſurprized by the King's Party, was beſieged by another Army of *Scots* advanced to help their Brethren.

Along the Edges of thoſe vaſt Mountains we paſt with the Help of our Guide, till we came into

into the Foreſt of *Swale*; and finding our ſelves perfectly concealed here, for no Soldier had ever been here all the War, nor perhaps would not, if it had laſted 7 Years; we thought we wanted a few Days Reſt, at leaſt for our Horſes, ſo we reſolved to halt, and while we did ſo, we made ſome Diſguiſes, and ſent out ſome Spies into the Country; but as here were no great Towns, nor no Poſt Road, we got very little Intelligence. We reſted four Days, and then marched again; and indeed having no great Stock of Money about us, and not very free of that we had, four Days was enough for thoſe poor Places to be able to maintain us.

We thought our ſelves pretty ſecure now; but our chief Care was how to get over thoſe terrible Mountains; for having paſſed the great Road that leads from *York* to *Lancaſter*, the Craggs, the farther Northward we looked, look'd ſtill the worſe, and our Buſineſs was all on the other Side. Our Guide told us, he would bring us out, if we would have Patience, which we were obliged to, and kept on this ſlow March, till he brought us to *Stanhope*, in the County of *Durham*; where ſome of *Goring*'s Horſe, and two Regiments of Foot, had their Quarters: This was 19 Days from the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*. The Prince who was then at *Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*, and who had given me over as loſt, when he had News of our Arrival, ſent an Expreſs to me, to meet him at *Appleby*. I went thither accordingly, and gave him an Account of our Journey, and there I heard the ſhort Hiſtory of the other Part of our Men, whom we parted from in *Lancaſhire*. They made the beſt of their way North; they had two reſolute Gentlemen who commanded; and be-

ing ſo cloſely purſued by the Enemy, that they found themſelves under a Neceſſity of Fighting, they halted, and faced about, expecting the Charge. The Boldneſs of the Action made the Officer who led the Enemy's Horſe (which it ſeems were the County Horſe only) afraid of them; which they perceiving, taking the Advantage of his Fears, bravely advance, and charge them; and, though they were above 200 Horſe, they routed them, killed about 30 or 40, got ſome Horſes, and ſome Money, and puſhed on their March Night and Day; but coming near *Lancaſter*, they were ſo way-laid and purſued, that they agreed to ſeparate, and ſhift every Man for himſelf; many of them fell into the Enemy's Hands; ſome were killed attempting to paſs through the River *Lune*; ſome went back again, ſix or ſeven got to *Bolton*, and about 18 got ſafe to Prince *Rupert*.

The Prince was in a better Condition hereabouts than I expected; he and my Lord *Goring*, with the Help of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and the Gentlemen of *Cumberland*, had gotten a Body of 4000 Horſe, and about 6000 Foot; they had retaken *Newcaſtle*, *Tinmouth*, *Durham*, *Stockton*, and ſeveral Towns of Conſequence from the *Scots*, and might have cut them out Work enough ſtill, if that baſe People, reſolved to engage their whole Intereſt to ruine their Sovereign, had not ſent a ſecond Army of 10000 Men, under the Earl of *Calender*, to help their firſt. Theſe came and laid Siege to *Newcaſtle*, but found more vigorous Reſiſtance now than they had done before.

There were in the Town Sir *John Morley*, the Lord *Crawford*, Lord *Rea*, and *Maxwell*, *Scots*; and old Soldiers, who were reſolved their Countrymen

trymen ſhould buy the Town very dear if they had it; and had it not been for our Diſaſter at *Marſton-Moor*, they had never had it; for *Calender*, finding he was not able to carry the Town, ſends to General *Leven* to come from the Siege of *York* to help him.

Mean time the Prince forms a very good Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with 10000 Men ſhews himſelf on the Borders of *Scotland*, to try if that might not cauſe the *Scots* to recal their Forces; and, I am perſwaded had he entered *Scotland*, the Parliament of *Scotland* had recalled the Earl of *Calender*, for they had but 5000 Men left in Arms to ſend againſt him; but they were loath to venture.

However, this Effect it had, that it called the *Scots* Northward again, and found them Work there for the reſt of the Summer, to reduce the ſeveral Towns in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

I found with the Prince the poor Remains of my Regiment, which when joined with thoſe that had been with me, could not all make up three Troops, and but two Captains, three Lieutenants, and one Cornet; the reſt were diſperſed, killed, or taken Priſoners.

However, with thoſe, which we ſtill called a Regiment, I joined the Prince, and after having done all we could on that Side, the *Scots* being returned from *York*, the Prince returned through *Lancaſhire* to *Cheſter*.

The Enemy often appeared and alarmed us, and once fell on one of our Parties, and killed us about a hundred Men; but we were too many for them to pretend to fight us, ſo we came to *Bolton*, beat the Troops of the Enemy near *Warrington*, where I got a Cut with a Halbard in

my Face, and arrived at *Cheſter* the beginning of *Auguſt*.

The Parliament, upon their great Succeſs in the North, thinking the King's Forces quite broken, had ſent their General *Eſſex* into the Weſt, where the King's Army was commanded by Prince *Maurice*, Prince *Rupert*'s elder Brother, but not very ſtrong; and the King being, as they ſuppoſed, by the Abſence of Prince *Rupert*, weakened ſo much as, that he might be checked by Sir *William Waller*, who, with 4500 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, was at that Time about *Wincheſter*, having lately beaten Sir *Ralph Hopton*. Upon all theſe Conſiderations, the Earl of *Eſſex* marches Weſtward.

The Forces in the Weſt being too weak to oppoſe him, every thing give way to him, and all People expected he would beſiege *Exeter*, where the Queen was newly lying in, and ſent a Trumpet to deſire he would forbear the City, while ſhe could be removed; which he did, and paſſed on Weſtward, took *Tiverton*, *Biddeford*, *Barnſtable*, *Lanceſton*, relieved *Plymouth*, drove Sir *Richard Greenvil* up into *Cornwall*, and followed him thither, but left Prince *Maurice* behind him with 4000 Men about *Barnſtable* and *Exeter*. The King, in the mean time, marches from *Oxford* into *Worceſter*, with *Waller* at his Heels; at *Edgehill* his Majeſty turns upon *Waller*, and gave him a Bruſh, to put him in mind of the Place; the King goes on to *Worceſter*, ſends 300 Horſe to relieve *Durley* Caſtle, beſieged by the Earl of *Denby*, and ſending Part of his Forces to *Briſtol*, returns to *Oxford*.

His Majeſty had now firmly reſolved to march into the Weſt, not having yet any Account of

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our Misfortunes in the North. *Waller* and *Middleton* way-lay the King at *Cropedy* Bridge: The King aſſaults *Middleton* at the Bridge; *Waller*'s Men were poſted with ſome Cannon to guard a Paſs; *Middleton*'s Men put a Regiment of the King's Foot to the Rout, and purſued them: *Waller*'s Men, willing to come in for the Plunder, a thing their General had often uſed them to, quit their Poſt at the Paſs, and their great Guns, to have Part in the Victory. The King coming in ſeaſonably to the Relief of his Men, routs *Middleton*, and at the ſame time ſends a Party round, who clapt in between Sir *William Waller*'s Men and their great Guns, and ſecured the Paſs and the Cannon too.

The King took three Collonels, beſides other Officers, and about 300 Men Priſoners, with eight great Guns, 19 Carriages of Ammunition, and killed about 200 Men.

Waller loſt his Reputation in this Fight, and was exceedingly ſlighted ever after, even by his own Party; but eſpecially by ſuch as were of General *Eſſex*'s Party, between whom and *Waller* there had been Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings for ſome time.

The King, about 8000 ſtrong, marched on to *Briſtol*, where Sir *William Hopton* joined him; and from thence he follows *Eſſex* into *Cornwall*; *Eſſex* ſtill following *Greenvil*, the King comes to *Exeter*, and joining with Prince *Maurice*, reſolves to purſue *Eſſex*; and now the Earl of *Eſſex* began to ſee his Miſtake, being cooped up between two Seas, the King's Army in his Rear, the Country his Enemy, and Sir *Richard Grenvil* in his Van.

The King, who always took the beſt Meaſures, when he was left to his own Counſel, wiſely refuſes

refuſes to engage, though ſuperior in Number, and much ſtronger in Horſe. *Eſſex* often drew out to fight, but the King fortifies, takes the Paſſes and Bridges, Plants Cannon, and ſecures the Country to keep off Proviſions, and continually ſtreightens their Quarters, but would not fight.

Now *Eſſex* ſends away to the Parliament for Help, and they write to *Waller*, and *Middleton*, and *Mancheſter*, to follow, and come up with the King in his Rear; but ſome were too far off, and could not, as *Mancheſter* and *Fairfax*; others made no Haſte, as having no mind to it, as *Waller* and *Middleton*, and if they had, it had been too late.

At laſt the Earl of *Eſſex* finding nothing to be done, and unwilling to fall into the King's Hands, takes Shipping, and leaves his Army to ſhift for themſelves. The Horſe, under Sir *William Balfour*, the beſt Horſe-Officer, and, without Compariſon, the braveſt in all the Parliament Army, advanced in ſmall Parties, as if to Skirmiſh, but following in with the whole Body, being 3500 Horſe, broke through, and got off. Though this was a Loſs to the King's Victory, yet the Foot were now in a Condition ſo much the worſe. Brave old *Skippon* propoſed to fight through with the Foot and die, as he called it, like *Engliſh* Men, with Sword in Hand; but the reſt of the Officers ſhook their Heads at it; for, being well paid, they had at preſent no Occaſion for dying.

Seeing it thus, they agreed to treat, and the King grants them Conditions, upon laying down their Arms, to march off free. This was too much; had his Majeſty but obliged them upon Oath not to ſerve again for a certain Time, he had

had done his Buſineſs; but this was not thought of; ſo they paſſed free, only diſarmed, the Soldiers not being allowed ſo much as their Swords.

The King gained by this Treaty 40 Pieces of Cannon, all of Braſs, 300 Barrels of Gunpowder, 9000 Arms, 8000 Swords, Match and Bullet in Proportion, 200 Waggons, 150 Colours and Standards, all the Bag and Baggage of the Army, and about 1000 of the Men liſted in his Army. This was a compleat Victory without Bloodſhed; and, had the King but ſecured the Men from ſerving but for ſix Months, it had moſt effectually anſwered the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*.

As it was, it infuſed new Life into all his Majeſty's Forces and Friends, and retrieved his Affairs very much; but eſpecially it encouraged us in the North, who were more ſenſible of the Blow received at *Marſton-Moor*, and of the Deſtruction the *Scots* were bringing upon us all.

While I was at *Cheſter*, we had ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes with Sir *William Brereton*. One Morning in particular Sir *William* drew up, and faced us, and one of our Collonels of Horſe obſerving the Enemy to be not, as he thought, above 200, deſires Leave of Prince *Rupert* to attack them with the like Number, and accordingly he ſallied out with 200 Horſe. I ſtood drawn up without the City with 800 more, ready to bring him off, if he ſhould be put to the worſt, which happened accordingly; for, not having diſcovered neither the Country nor the Enemy as he ought, Sir *William Brereton* drew him into an Ambuſcade; ſo that before he came up with Sir *William*'s Forces, near enough to charge, he finds about 300 Horſe

in

of my Father's Houſe, I might ſoon recruit it, my Father having got ſome Men together already, I deſired Leave to lye at *Shrewsbury* for a Month, to make up my Men. Accordingly having obtained his Leave, I marched to *Wrexham*, where, in two Days time I got 20 Men, and ſo on to *Shrewsbury*. I had not been here above 10 Days, but I received an Expreſs to come away with what Recruits I had got together, Prince *Rupert* having poſitive Orders to meet the King by a certain Day. I had not mounted 100 Men, though I had liſted above 200, when theſe Orders came; but leaving my Father to compleat them for me, I marched with thoſe I had, and came to *Oxford*.

The King, after the Rout of the Parliament Forces in the Weſt, was marched back, took *Barnſtable*, *Plympton*, *Lanceſton*, *Tiverton*, and ſeveral other Places, and left *Plymouth* beſieged by Sir *Richard Grenvil*, met with Sir *William Waller* at *Shaftsbury*, and again at *Andover*, and boxed him at both Places, and marched for *Newberry*. Here the King ſent for Prince *Rupert* to meet him, who with 3000 Horſe made long Marches to join him; but the Parliament having joined their three Armies together, *Manchester* from the North, *Waller* and *Eſſex*, the Men being cloathed and armed, from the Weſt, had attacked the King, and obliged him to fight the Day, before the Prince came up.

The King had ſo poſted himſelf, as that he could not be obliged to fight but with Advantage; the Parliament's Forces being ſuperior in Number, and therefore, when they attacked him, he galled them with his Cannon, and declining to come to a general Battle, ſtood upon

the

in his Rear: Though he was ſurprized at this, yet, being a Man of a ready Courage, he boldly faces about with 150 of his Men, leaving the other 50 to face Sir *William*. With this ſmall Party, he deſperately charges the 300 Horſe in his Rear, and putting them into Diſorder, breaks through them, and, had there been no greater Force, he had cut them all in Pieces. Fluſhed with this Succeſs, and loath to deſert the 50 Men he had left behind, he faces about again, and charges through them again, and with theſe two Charges entirely routs them. Sir *William Brereton* finding himſelf a little diſappointed, advances, and falls upon the 50 Men juſt as the Collonel came up to them; they fought him with a great deal of Bravery, but the Collonel being unfortunately killed in the firſt Charge, the Men gave Way, and came flying all in Confuſion, with the Enemy at their Heels. As ſoon as I ſaw this, I advanced, according to my Orders, and the Enemy, as ſoon as I appeared, gave over the Purſuit. This Gentleman, as I remember, was Collonel *Morrough*; we fetched off his Body, and retreated into *Cheſter*.

The next Morning the Prince drew out of the City with about 1200 Horſe and 2000 Foot, and attacked Sir *William Brereton* in his Quarters. The Fight was very ſharp for the time, and near 700 Men, on both Sides, were killed; but Sir *William* would not put it to a general Engagement, ſo the Prince drew off, contenting himſelf to have inſulted him in his Quarters.

We now had received Orders from the King to join him; but I repreſenting to the Prince the Condition of my Regiment, which was now 100 Men, and, that being within 25 Miles

of

the Defenſive, expecting Prince *Rupert* with the Horſe.

The Parliament's Forces had ſome Advantage over our Foot, and took the Earl of *Cleveland* Priſoner; but the King, whoſe Foot were not above one to two, drew his Men under the Cannon of *Dennington* Caſtle, and having ſecured his Artillery and Baggage, made a Retreat with his Foot in very good Order, having not loſt in all the Fight above 300 Men, and the Parliament as many: We loſt five Pieces of Cannon and took two, having repulſed the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Men on the North Side of the Town, with conſiderable Loſs.

The King, having lodged his Train of Artillery and Baggage in *Dennington* Caſtle, marched the next Day for *Oxford*; there we joined him with 3000 Horſe, and 2000 Foot. Encouraged with this Reinforcement, the King appears upon the Hills on the North-weſt of *Newberry*, and faces the Parliament Army. The Parliament having too many Generals as well as Soldiers, they could not agree whether they ſhould fight or no. This was no great Token of the Victory they boaſted of; for they were now twice our Number in the whole, and their Foot three for one. The King ſtood in Battalia all Day, and finding the Parliament Forces had no Stomach to engage him, he drew away his Cannon and Baggage out of *Dennington* Caſtle, in View of their whole Army, and marched away to *Oxford*.

This was ſuch a falſe Step of the Parliament's Generals, that all the People cried ſhame of them: The Parliament appointed a Committee to enquire into it. *Cromwell* accuſed *Mancheſter*, and

and he *Waller*, and ſo they laid the Fault upon one another. *Waller* would have been glad to have charged it upon *Eſſex*; but as it happened he was not in the Army, having been taken ill ſome Days before; but, as it generally is when a Miſtake is made, the Actors fall out among themſelves, ſo it was here. No doubt it was as falſe a Step as that of *Cornwall*, to let the King fetch away his Baggage and Cannon in the Face of three Armies, and never fire a Shot at them.

The King had not above 8000 Foot in his Army, and they above 25000: 'Tis true, the King had 8000 Horſe, a fine Body, and much ſuperior to theirs; but the Foot might, with the greateſt Eaſe in the World, have prevented the removing the Cannon, and in three Days time have taken the Caſtle, with all that was in it.

Thoſe Differences produced their Self-denying Ordinance, and the putting by moſt of their old Generals, as *Eſſex*, *Waller*, *Mancheſter*, and the like; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a terrible Man in the Field, though the mildeſt of Men out of it, was voted to have the Command of all their Forces, and *Lambert* to take the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Troops in the North, old *Skippon* being Major General.

This Winter was ſpent on the Enemy's Side in modelling, as they called it, their Army; and, on our Side, in recruiting ours, and ſome petty Excurſions. Amongſt the many Addreſſes, I obſerved one from *Suſſex* or *Surrey*, complaining of the Rudeneſs of their Soldiers, and particularly of the raviſhing of Women, and the murthering of Men; from which I only obſerved, that there were Diſorders among them, as well

well as among us, only with this Difference, that they, for Reaſons I mentioned before, were under Circumſtances to prevent it better than the King: But I muſt do the King's Memory that Juſtice, that he uſed all poſſible Methods, by Puniſhment of Soldiers, charging, and ſometimes entreating, the Gentlemen not to ſuffer ſuch Diſorders and ſuch Violences in their Men; but it was to no Purpoſe for his Majeſty to attempt it, while his Officers, Generals, and Great Men, winked at it; for the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldier is ſuppoſed to be approved by the Officer, when it is not corrected.

The Rudeneſs of the Parliament Soldiers began from the Diviſions among their Officers; for, in many Places, the Soldiers grew ſo out of all Diſcipline, and ſo unſufferably rude, that they in particular refuſed to march when Sir *William Waller* went to *Weymouth*. This had turned to good Account for us, had theſe curſed *Scots* been out of our way, but they were the Staff of the Party; and now they were daily ſollicited to march Southward, which was a very great Affliction to the King, and all his Friends.

One Booty the King got at this time, which was a very ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance to his Affairs, *(viz.)* a great Merchant Ship richly laden at *London*, and bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, was, by the Seamen, brought into *Briſtol*, and delivered up to the King. Some Merchants in *Briſtol* offered the King 40000 l. for her, which his Majeſty ordered ſhould be accepted, reſerving only 30 great Guns for his own Uſe.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* now was begun, and we that had been well beaten in the War, heartily wiſhed the King would come to a Peace; but

but we all foreſaw the Clergy would ruine it all. The Commons were for Presbytery, and would never agree the Biſhops ſhould be reſtored; the King was willinger to comply with any thing than this, and we foreſaw it would be ſo; from whence we uſed to ſay among our ſelves, *That the Clergy was reſolved if there ſhould be no Biſhop, there ſhould be no King.*

This Treaty at *Uxbridge* was a perfect War between the Men of the Gown, ours was between thoſe of the Sword; and I cannot but take Notice how the Lawyers, Stateſmen, and the Clergy of every Side beſtirred themſelves, rather to hinder than promote the Peace.

There had been a Treaty at *Oxford* ſome time before, where the Parliament inſiſting that the King ſhould paſs a Bill to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, quit the Militia, abandon ſeveral of his faithful Servants to be exempted from Pardon, and making ſeveral other moſt extravagant Demands. Nothing was done, but the Treaty broke off, both Parties being rather farther exaſperated, than n clined to hearken to Conditions.

However, ſoon after the Succeſs in the Weſt, his Majeſty, to let them ſee that Victory had not puffed him up ſo as to make him reject the Peace, ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament, to put them in Mind of Meſſages of like Nature which they had ſlighted; and to let them know, that notwithſtanding he had beaten their Forces, he was yet willing to hearken to a reaſonable Propoſal for putting an End to the War.

The Parliament pretended the King, in his Meſſage, did not treat with them as a legal Parliament, and ſo made Heſitations; but after long Debates and Delays they agreed to draw up Propoſitions for Peace to be ſent to the King.

As this Meſſage was ſent to the Houſes about *Auguſt*, I think they made it the middle of *November* before they brought the Propoſitions for Peace; and, when they brought them, they had no Power to enter either upon a Treaty, or ſo much as Preliminaries for a Treaty, only to deliver the Letter, and receive an Anſwer.

However, ſuch were the Circumſtances of Affairs at this Time, that the King was uneaſy to ſee himſelf thus treated, and take no Notice of it: The King returned an Anſwer to the Propoſitions, and propoſed a Treaty by Commiſſioners which the Parliament appointed.

Three Months more were ſpent in naming Commiſſioners. There was much Time ſpent in this Treaty, but little done; the Commiſſioners debated chiefly the Article of Religion, and of the Militia; in the latter they were very likely to agree, in the former both Sides ſeemed too poſitive. The King would by no Means abandon Epiſcopacy, nor the Parliament Presbytery; for both in their Opinion were *Jure Divino*.

The Commiſſioners finding this Point hardeſt to adjuſt, went from it to that of the Militia; but the Time ſpinning out, the King's Commiſſioners demanded longer Time for the Treaty; the other ſent up for Inſtructions, but the Houſe refuſed to lengthen out the Time.

This was thought an Inſolence upon the King, and gave all good People a Deteſtation of ſuch haughty Behaviour; and thus the Hopes of Peace vaniſhed, both Sides prepared for War with as much Eagerneſs as before.

The Parliament was employed at this Time in what they called a Modelling their Army; that is to ſay, that now the Independent Party beginning

ginning to prevail; and, as they outdid all the others in their Reſolution of carrying on the War to all Extremities, ſo they were both the more vigorous and more politick Party in carrying it on.

Indeed the War was after this carried on with greater Annimoſity than ever, and the Generals puſhed forward with a Vigour, that, as it had ſomething in it unuſual, ſo it told us plainly from this Time, whatever they did before, they now puſhed at the Ruine even of Monarchy it ſelf.

All this while alſo the War went on, and though the Parliament had no ſettled Army, yet their Regiments and Troops were always in Action; and the Sword was at work in every Part of the Kingdom.

Among an infinite Number of Party Skirmiſhings and Fights this Winter, one happened which nearly concerned me, which was the Surprize of the Town and Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*. Collonel *Mitton*, with about 1200 Horſe and Foot, having Intelligence with ſome People in the Town, on a *Sunday* Morning early broke into the Town, and took it, Caſtle and all. The Loſs for the Quality, more than the Number, was very great to the King's Affairs. They took there 15 Pieces of Cannon, Prince *Maurice*'s Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, Prince *Rupert*'s Baggage, above 50 Perſons of Quality and Officers: There was not above 8 or 10 Men killed on both Sides; for the Town was ſurprized, not ſtormed. I had a particular Loſs in this Action; for, all the Men and Horſes my Father had got together for the recruiting my Regiment, were here loſt and diſperſed; and, which was the worſe, my Father happening to be then in the Town, was

taken Priſoner, and carried to *Beeſton* Caſtle in *Cheſhire*.

I was quartered all this Winter at *Banbury*, and went little abroad; nor had we any Action till the latter end of *February*, when I was ordered to march to *Leiceſter* with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in order, as we thought, to raiſe a Body of Men in that County and *Staffordſhire*, to join the King.

We lay at *Daventry* one Night, and continuing our March to paſs the River above *Northampton*, that Town being poſſeſſed by the Enemy, we underſtood a Party of *Northampton* Forces were abroad, and intended to attack us: Accordingly in the Afternoon our Scouts brought us Word, the Enemy were quartered in ſome Villages on the Road to *Coventry*; our Commander thinking it much better to ſet upon them in their Quarters, than to wait for them in the Field, reſolves to attack them early in the Morning, before they were aware of it. We refreſhed our ſelves in the Field for that Day, and getting into a great Wood near the Enemy, we ſtayed there all Night, till almoſt break of Day, without being diſcovered.

In the Morning very early we heard the Enemy's Trumpets ſound to Horſe; this rouſed us to look abroad; and, ſending out a Scout, he brought us Word a Party of the Enemy was at Hand. We were vexed to be ſo diſappointed, but finding their Party ſmall enough to be dealt with, Sir *Marmaduke* ordered me to charge them with 300 Horſe and 200 Dragoons, while he at the ſame Time entered the Town. Accordingly I lay ſtill till they came to the very Skirt of the Wood where I was poſted, when I ſaluted them with a Volley from my Dragoons out of the Wood,

Wood, and immediately ſhewed my ſelf with my Horſe on their Front, ready to charge them; they appeared not to be ſurprized, and received our Charge with great Reſolution; and, being above 400 Men, they puſhed me vigorouſly in their Turn, putting my Men into ſome Diſorder. In this Extremity I ſent to order the Dragoons to charge them in the Flank, which they did with great Bravery, and the other ſtill maintained the Fight with deſperate Reſolution. There was no want of Courage in our Men on both Sides; but our Dragoons had the Advantage, and at laſt routed them, and drove them back to the Village. Here Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had his Hands full too; for my firing had alarmed the Towns adjacent, that when he came into the Town, he found them all in Arms; and, contrary to his Expectation, two Regiments of Foot, with about 500 Horſe more. As Sir *Marmaduke* had no Foot, only Horſe and Dragoons, this was a Surprize to him; but he cauſed his Dragoons to enter the Town, and charge the Foot, while his Horſe ſecured the Avenues of the Town.

The Dragoons bravely attacked the Foot, and Sir *Marmaduke* falling in with his Horſe, the Fight was obſtinate and very bloody, when the Horſe that I had routed came flying into the Street of the Village, and my Men at their Heels. Immediately I left the Purſuit, and fell in with all my Force to the Aſſiſtance of my Friends, and, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, we routed the whole Party; we killed about 700 Men, took 350, 27 Officers, 100 Arms, all their Baggage, and 200 Horſes, and continued our March to *Harborough*, where we halted to refreſh our ſelves.

Between *Harborough* and *Leiceſter* we met with a Party of 800 Dragoons of the Parliament Forces. They found themſelves too few to attack us, and therefore to avoid us, they had gotten into a ſmall Wood; but perceiving themſelves diſcovered, they came boldly out, and placed themſelves at the Entrance into a Lane, lining both Sides of the Hedges with their Shot. We immediately attacked them, beat them from their Hedges, beat them into the Wood, and out of the Wood again, and forced them at laſt to a down right *Run-away*, on Foot, among the Encloſures, where we could not follow them, killed about 100 of them, and took 250 Priſoners, with all their Horſes, and came that Night to *Leiceſter*. When we came to *Leiceſter*, and had taken up our Quarters, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* ſent for me to ſup with him, and told me, that he had a ſecret Commiſſion in his Pocket, which his Majeſty had commanded him not to open 'till he came to *Leiceſter*; that now he had ſent for me to open it together, that we might know what it was we were to do, and to conſider how to do it; ſo pulling out his ſealed Orders, we found we were to get what Force we could together, and a certain Number of Carriages with Ammunition which the Governour of *Leiceſter* was to deliver us, and a certain Quantity of Proviſion, eſpecally Corn and Salt, and to relieve *Newark*. This Town had been long beſieged: The Fortifications of the Place, together with its Situation, had rendered it the ſtrongeſt Piece in *England*; And, as it was the greateſt Paſs in *England*, ſo it was of vaſt Conſequence to the King's Affairs. There was in it a Garriſon of brave old rugged Boys, Fellows, that, like Count *Tilly*'s *Germans*, had Iron Faces,

Faces, and they had defended themſelves with extraordinary Bravery a great while, but were reduced to an exceeding Streight for want of Proviſions.

Accordingly we received the Ammunition and Proviſion, and away we went for *Newark*; about *Melton Mowbray*, Collonel *Roſeter* ſet upon us, with above 3000 Men; we were about the ſame Number, having 2500 Horſe, and 800 Dragoons. We had ſome Foot, but they were ſtill at *Harborough*, and were ordered to come after us.

Roſeter, like a brave Officer, as he was, charged us with great Fury, and rather outdid us in Number, while we defended our ſelves with all the Eagerneſs we could, and withal gave him to underſtand we were not ſo ſoon to be beaten as he expected. While the Fight continued doubtful, eſpecially on our Side, our People, who had charge of the Carriages and Proviſions, began to encloſe our Flanks with them, as if we had been marching; which, though it was done without Orders, had two very good Effects, and which did us extraordinary Service. Firſt, it ſecured us from being charged in the Flank, which *Roſeter* had twice attempted; and, Secondly, it ſecured our Carriages from being plundered, which had ſpoiled our whole Expedition. Being thus encloſed, we fought with great Security; and though *Roſeter* made three deſperate Charges upon us, he could never break us. Our Men received him with ſo much Courage, and kept their Order ſo well, that the Enemy finding it impoſſible to force us, gave it over, and left us to purſue our Orders. We did not offer to chaſe them, but contented enough to have repulſed and beaten them off,

and our Buſineſs being to relieve *Newark*, we proceeded.

If we are to reckon by the Enemy's uſual Method, we got the Victory, becauſe we kept the Field, and had the Pillage of their Dead; but otherwiſe, neither Side had any great Cauſe to boaſt. We loſt about 150 Men, and near as many hurt; they left 170 on the Spot, and carried off ſome. How many they had wounded we could not tell; we got 70 or 80 Horſe, which helped to remount ſome of our Men that had loſt theirs in the Fight. We had, however, this Diſadvantage, that we were to march on immediately after this Service; the Enemy only to retire to their Quarters, which was but hard by. This was an Injury to our wounded Men, who we were after obliged to leave at *Belvoir* Caſtle, and from thence we advanced to *Newark*.

Our Buſineſs at *Newark* was to relieve the Place, and this we reſolved to do, whatever it coſt, though, at the ſame Time, we reſolved not to fight, unleſs we were forced to it. The Town was rather blocked up than beſieged; the Garriſon was ſtrong, but ill provided; we had ſent them word of our coming to them, and our Orders to relieve them, and they propoſed ſome Meaſures for our doing it. The chief Strength of the Enemy lay on the other Side of the River; but they having alſo ſome Notice of our Deſign, had ſent over Forces to ſtrengthen their Leaguer on this Side. The Garriſon had often ſurprized them by Sallies, and indeed had chiefly ſubſiſted for ſome time by what they brought in on this Manner.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who was our General for the Expedition, was for a general Attempt

to

to raiſe the Siege; but I had perſwaded him off of that: Firſt, Becauſe if we ſhould be beaten, as might be probable, we then loſt the Town. Sir *Marmaduke* briskly replied, *A Soldier ought never to ſuppoſe he ſhall be beaten. But, Sir,* ſays I, *you'll get more Honour by relieving the Town, than by beating them: One will be a Credit to your Conduct, as the other will be to your Courage; and, if you think you can beat them, you may do it afterward, and then if you are miſtaken, the Town is nevertheleſs ſecured, and half your Victory gained.*

He was prevailed with to adhere to this Advice, and accordingly we appeared before the Town about two Hours before Night. The Horſe drew up before the Enemy's Works; the Enemy drew up within their Works, and ſeeing no Foot, expected when our Dragoons would diſmount and attack them. They were in the right to let us attack them, becauſe of the Advantage of their Batteries and Works, if that had been our Deſign; but, as we intended only to amuſe them, this Caution of theirs effected our Deſign; for, while we thus faced them with our Horſe, two Regiments of Foot, which came up to us but the Night before, and was all the Infantry we had, with the Waggons of Proviſions, and 500 Dragoons, taking a Compaſs clean round the Town, poſted themſelves on the lower Side of the Town by the River. Upon a Signal the Garriſon agreed on before, they ſallied out at this very Juncture, with all the Men they could ſpare, and dividing themſelves in two Parties, while one Party moved to the Left to meet our Relief, the other Party fell on upon Part of that Body which faced us. We kept in Motion, and upon this Signal advanced to their Works, and our Dragoons fired upon them

them; and the Horſe wheeling and counter-marching often, kept them continually expecting to be attacked. By this Means the Enemy were kept employed, and our Foot with the Waggons, appearing on that Quarter where they were leaſt expected, eaſily defeated the advanced Guards, and forced that Poſt, where entring the Leaguer, the other Part of the Garriſon, who had ſallied that way, came up to them, received the Waggons, and the Dragoons entered with them into the Town. That Party which we faced on the other Side of the Works; knew nothing of what was done till all was over; the Garriſon retreated in good Order, and we drew off, having finiſhed what we came for without fighting.

Thus we plentifully ſtored the Town with all things wanting, and with an Addition of 500 Dragoons to their Garriſon; after which we marched away without fighting a Stroke. Our next Orders were to relieve *Pontfract* Caſtle, another Garriſon of the King's, which had been beſieged ever ſince a few Days after the Fight at *Marſton-Moor*, by the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and other Generals in their Turn.

By the Way, we were joined with 800 Horſe out of *Derbyſhire*, and ſome Foot, ſo many as made us, about 4500 Men in all.

Collonel *Forbes*, a *Scotchman*, commanded at the Siege, in the Abſence of the Lord *Fairfax*; the Collonel had ſent to my Lord for more Troops, and his Lordſhip was gathering his Forces to come up to him; but he was pleaſed to come too late. We came up with the Enemy's Leaguer about Break of Day, and having been diſcovered by their Scouts, they, with more Courage

Courage than Diſcretion, drew out to meet us. We ſaw no Reaſon to avoid them, being ſtronger in Horſe than they; and though we had but a few Foot, we had 1000 Dragoons, which helped us out. We had placed our Horſe and Foot throughout in one Line, with two Reſerves of Horſe, and between every Diviſion of Horſe, a Diviſion of Foot, only that on the Extremes of our Wings, there were two Parties of Horſe on each Point by themſelves, and the Dragoons in the Center, on Foot. Their Foot charged us home, and ſtood with Puſh of Pike a great while; but their Horſe charging our Horſe and Muſqueteers, and being cloſed on the Flanks with thoſe two extended Troops on our Wings, they were preſently diſordered, and fled out of the Field. The Foot thus deſerted, were charged on every Side, and broken. They retreated ſtill fighting, and in good Order, for a while; but the Garriſon ſallying upon them at the ſame Time, and being followed cloſe by our Horſe, they were ſcattered, entirely routed, and moſt of them killed. The Lord *Fairfax* was come with his Horſe as far as *Ferribridge*, but the Fight was over; and all he could do was to rally thoſe that fled, and ſave ſome of their Carriages, which elſe had fallen into our Hands. We drew up our little Army in Order of Battle the next Day, expecting the Lord *Fairfax* would have charged us; but his Lordſhip was ſo far from any ſuch Thoughts, that he placed a Party of Dragoons, with Orders to fortify the Paſs at *Ferribridge*, to prevent our falling upon him in his Retreat, which he needed not have done; for, having raiſed the Siege of *Pontfract*, our Buſineſs was done, we had nothing to ſay to him, unleſs we had been ſtrong enough to ſtay.

We

We loſt not above 30 Men in this Action, and the Enemy 300, with about 150 Priſoners, one Piece of Cannon, all their Ammunition, 1000 Arms, and moſt of their Baggage, and Collonel *Lambert* was once taken Priſoner, being wounded, but got off again.

We brought no Relief for the Garriſon, but the Opportunity to furniſh themſelves out of the Country, which they did very plentifully. The Ammunition taken from the Enemy was given to them, which they wanted, and was their Due, for they had ſiezed it in the Sally they made, before the Enemy was quite defeated.

I cannot omit taking Notice, on all Occaſions, how exceeding ſerviceable this Method was of poſting Muſqueteers in the Intervals, among the Horſe, in all this War: I perſwaded our Generals to it, as much as poſſible, and I never knew a Body of Horſe beaten that did ſo; yet I had great Difficulty to prevail upon our People to believe it, though it was taught me by the greateſt General in the World, (viz.) the King of *Sweden*. Prince *Rupert* did it at the Battle *Marſton-Moor*; and had the Earl of *Newcaſtle* not been obſtinate againſt it in his Right Wing, as I obſerved before, the Day had not been loſt. In diſcourſing this with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, I had related ſeveral Examples of the Serviceableneſs of theſe ſmall Bodies of Firemen, and, with great Difficulty, brought him to agree, telling him, I would be anſwerable for the Succeſs; but, after the Fight, he told me plainly he ſaw the Advantage of it, and would never fight otherwiſe again, if he had any Foot to place. So having relieved theſe two Places, we haſtened, by long Marches, through *Derbyſhire*, to join Prince *Rupert* on the Edge of *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*. We found

Collonel

Collonel *Roſeter* had followed us at a Diſtance, ever ſince the Buſineſs at *Melton Mowbray*, but never cared to attack us, and we found he did the like ſtill. Our General would fain have been doing with him again, but we found him too ſhy. Once we laid a Trap for him at *Dove-Bridge*, between *Derby* and *Burton upon Trent*, the Body being marched two Days before; 300 Dragoons were left to guard the Bridge, as if we were afraid he ſhould fall upon us. Upon this we marched, as I ſaid, on to *Burton*, and, the next Day, fetching a Compaſs round, came to a Village near *Titbury* Caſtle, whoſe Name I forgot, were we lay ſtill expecting our Dragoons would be attacked.

Accordingly the Collonel, ſtrengthned with ſome Troops of Horſe from *Yorkſhire*, comes up to the Bridge, and finding ſome Dragoons poſted, advances to charge them: The Dragoons immediately get a Horſeback, and run for it, as they were ordered; but the old Lad was not to be caught ſo; for he halts immediately at the Bridge, and would not come over till he had ſent three or four flying Parties abroad, to diſcover the Country. One of theſe Parties fell into our Hands, and received but coarſe Entertainment. Finding the Plot would not take, we appeared, and drew up in View of the Bridge but he would not ſtir: So we continued our March into *Cheſhire*, where we joined Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*, making together a fine Body, being above 8000 Horſe and Dragoons.

This was the beſt and moſt ſucceſsful Expedition I was in during this War. 'Twas well concerted, and executed with as much Expedition and Conduct as could be deſired, and the Succeſs was anſwerable to it: And indeed, conſidering

ſidering the Seaſon of the Year (for we ſet out from *Oxford* the latter end of *February*) the Ways bad, and the Seaſon wet, it was a terrible March of above 200 Miles, in continual Action, and continually dodged and obſerved by a vigilant Enemy, and at a Time when the North was over-run by their Armies, and the *Scots* wanting Employment for their Forces; yet in leſs than 23 Days, we marched 200 Miles, fought the Enemy in open Field four Times, relieved one Garriſon beſieged, and raiſed the Siege of another, and joined our Friends at laſt in Safety.

The Enemy was in great Pain for Sir *William Brereton* and his Forces, and Expreſſes rid Night and Day to the *Scots* in the North, and to the Parties in *Lancaſhire*, to come to his Help. The Prince, who uſed to be rather too forward to fight than otherwiſe, could not be perſwaded to make uſe of this Opportunity, but loitered, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, till the *Scots*, with a Brigade of Horſe and 2000 Foot, had joined him; and then 'twas not thought proper to engage them.

I took this Opportunity to go to *Shrewsbury* to viſit my Father, who was a Priſoner of War there, getting a paſs from the Enemy's Governour. They allowed him the Liberty of the Town, and ſometimes to go to his own Houſe, upon his Parole, ſo that his Confinement was not very much to his perſonal Injury; but this, together with the Charges he had been at in raiſing the Regiment, and above 20000 l. in Money and Plate, which at ſeveral Times he had lent, or given rather, to the King, had reduced our Family to very ill Circumſtances; and now they talked of cutting down his Woods.

I had

I had a great deal of Diſcourſe with my Father on this Affair; and finding him extremely concerned, I offered to go to the King, and deſire his Leave to go to *London*, and treat about his Compoſition, or to render my ſelf a Priſoners in his ſtead, while he went up himſelf. In this Difficulty I treated with the Governour of the Town, who very civilly offered me his Paſs to go for *London*, which I accepted; and waiting on Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Worceſter*, I acquainted him with my Deſign. The Prince was unwilling I ſhould go to *London*; but told me, he had ſome Priſoners of the Parliament's Friends in *Cumberland*, and he would get an Exchange for my Father. I told him, if he would give me his Word for it, I knew I might depend upon it, otherwiſe there was ſo many of the King's Party in their Hands, that his Majeſty was tired with Sollicitations for Exchanges; for we never had a Priſoner but there was ten Offers of Exchanges for him. The Prince told me, I ſhould depend upon him; and he was as good as his Word quickly after.

While the Prince lay at *Worceſter* he made an Incurſion into *Herefordſhire*, and having made ſome of the Gentlemen Priſoners, brought them to *Worceſter*; and though it was an Action which had not been uſual, they being Perſons not in Arms, yet the like being my Father's Caſe, who was really not in Commiſſion, nor in any Military Service, having reſigned his Regiment three Years before to me, the Prince inſiſted on exchanging them for ſuch as the Parliament had in Cuſtody in like Circumſtances. The Gentlemen ſeeing no Remedy, ſollicited their own Caſe at the Parliament, and got it paſſed in their behalf; and by this Means

my

my Father got his Liberty; and, by the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Denbigh*, got Leave to come to *London* to make a Compoſition, as a Delinquent, for his Eſtate. This they charged at 7000 l. but by the Aſſiſtance of the ſame noble Perſon, he got off for 4000 l. Some Members of the Committee moved very kindly, that my Father ſhould oblige me to quit the King's Service; but that, as a thing which might be out of his Power, was not inſiſted on.

The Modelling the Parliament Army took them up all this Winter, and we were in great Hopes the Diviſions which appeared amongſt them might have weakened their Party; but when they voted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General, I confeſs I was convinced the King's Affairs were loſt and deſperate. Sir *Thomas*, abating the Zeal of his Party, and the miſtaken Opinion of his Cauſe, was the fitteſt Man amongſt them to undertake the Charge: He was a compleat General, ſtrict in his Diſcipline, wary in Conduct, fearleſs in Action, unwearied in the Fatigue of the War, and withal, of a modeſt, noble, generous Diſpoſition. We all aprehended Danger from him, and heartily wiſhed him of our own Side; and the King was ſo ſenſible, though he would not diſcover it, that when an Account was brought him of the Choice they had made, he replied, *he was ſorry for it*; *he had rather it had been any Body than he.*

The firſt Attempts of this new General and new Army were at *Oxford*, which, by the Neighbourhood of a numerous Garriſon in *Abingdon*, began to be very much ſtreightned for Proviſions; and the new Forces under *Cromwell* and *Skippon*, one Lieutenant General, the other Major General to *Fairfax*, approaching with a Deſign

Deſign to block it up, the King left the Place, ſuppoſing his Abſence would draw them away, as it ſoon did.

The King reſolving to leave *Oxford*, marches from thence with all his Forces, the Garriſon excepted, with Deſign to have gone to *Briſtol*, but the Plague was in *Briſtol*, which altered the Meaſures, and changed the Courſe of the King's Deſigns, ſo he marched for *Worceſter* about the begining of *June* 1645. The Foot with a Train of 40 Pieces of Cannon, marching into *Worceſter*, the Horſe ſtayed behind ſome time in *Glouceſterſhire*.

The firſt Action our Army did, was to raiſe the Siege of *Cheſter*; Sir *William Brereton* had beſieged it, or rather blocked it up, and when his Majeſty came to *Worceſter*, he ſent Prince *Rupert*, with 4000 Horſe and Dragoons, with Orders to join ſome Foot out of *Wales*, to raiſe the Siege; but Sir *William* thought fit to withdraw, and not ſtay for them, and the Town was freed without fighting. The Governour took Care in this Interval to furniſh himſelf with all things neceſſary for another Siege; and, as for Ammunition and other Neceſſaries, he was in no Want.

I was ſent with a Party into *Staffordſhire*, with Deſign to intercept a Convoy of Stores coming from *London*, for the Uſe of Sir *William Brereton*; but they having ſome Notice of the Deſign, ſtopt, and went out of the Road to *Burton upon Trent*, and ſo I miſſed them; but that we might not come back quite empty, we attacked *Hawkeſly* Houſe, and took it, where we got good Booty, and brought 80 Priſoners back to *Worceſter*. From *Worceſter* the King advanced into *Shropſhire*, and took his Head Quar-

ters at *Bridgenorth*. This was a very happy March of the King's, and had his Majesty proceeded, he had certainly cleared the North once more of his Enemies, for the Country was generally for him. At his advancing so far as *Bridgenorth*, Sir *William Brereton* fled up into *Lancashire*; the *Scots* Brigades who were with him retreated into the North, while yet the King was above 40 Miles from them, and all things lay open for Conquest. The new Generals, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, lay about *Oxford* preparing as if they would besiege it, and gave the King's Army so much Leisure, that his Majesty might have been at *Newcastle* before they could have been half Way to him. But Heaven, when the Ruine of a Person or Party is determined, always so infatuates their Counsels, as to make them instrumental to it themselves.

The King let slip this great Opportunity, as some thought, intending to break into the Associated Counties, of *Northampton*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, where he had some Interests forming. What the Design was, we knew not, but the King turns Eastward, and Marches into *Leicestershire*, and having treated the Country but very indifferently, as having deserved no better of us, laid Siege to *Leicester*.

This was but a short Siege; for the King, resolving not to lose Time, fell on with his great Guns, and having beaten down their Works, our Foot entered, after a vigorous Resistance, and took the Town by Storm. There was some Blood shed here, the Town being carried by Assault; but it was their own Faults; for after the Town was taken, the Soldiers and Townsmen obstinately fought us in the Market-Place; insomuch that the Horse was called to enter

the Town to clear the Streets. But this was not all; I was commanded to advance with theſe Horſe, being three Regiments, and to enter the Town; the Foot, who were engaged in the Streets, crying out, *Horſe, Horſe.* Immediately I advanced to the Gate, for we were drawn up about Muſquet Shot from the Works, to have ſupported our Foot, in Caſe of a Sally. Having ſiezed the Gate, I placed a Guard of Horſe there, with Orders to let no Body paſs in or out, and dividing my Troops, rode up by two Ways towards the Market-Place; the Garriſon defending themſelves in the Market-Place, and in the Church-yard with great Obſtinancy, killed us a great many Men; but, as ſoon as our Horſe appeared, they demanded Quarter, which our Foot refuſed them in the firſt Heat, as is frequent in all Nations, in like Caſes; 'till at laſt, they threw down their Arms, and yielded at Diſcretion; and then I can teſtify to the World, that fair Quarter was given them. I am the more particular in this Relation, having been an Eye-witneſs of the Action, becauſe the King was reproached in all the publick Libels, with which thoſe Times abounded, for having put a great many to Death, and hanged the Committee of the Parliament, and ſome *Scots*, in cold Blood, which was a notorious Forgery; and as I am ſure there was no ſuch thing done, ſo I muſt acknowledge I never ſaw any Inclination in his Majeſty to Cruelty, or to act any thing which was not practiſed by the General Laws of War, and by Men of Honour in all Nations.

But the Matter of Fact, in Reſpect to the Garriſon, was as I have related; and, if they had thrown down their Arms ſooner, they had had Mercy ſooner; but it was not for a conquering

Army, entered a Town by Storm, to offer Conditions of Quarter in the Streets.

Another Circumſtance was, that a great many of the Inhabitants, both Men and Women, were killed, which is moſt true; and the Caſe was thus: The Inhabitants, to ſhew their overforward Zeal to defend the Town, fought in the Breach; nay, the very Women, to the Honour of the *Leiceſter* Ladies, if they like it, officiouſly did their Parts; and after the Town was taken, and when, if they had had any Brains in their Zeal, they would have kept their Houſes, and been quiet, they fired upon our Men out of their Windows, and from the Tops of their Houſes, and threw Tiles upon their Heads; and I had ſeveral of my Men wounded ſo, and 7 or 8 killed. This exaſperated us to the laſt Degree; and, finding one Houſe better manned than ordinary, and many Shot fired at us out of the Windows, I cauſed my Men to attack it, reſolved to make them an Example for the reſt; which they did, and breaking open the Doors, they killed all they found there, without Diſtinction; and I appeal to the World if they were to blame. If the Parliament Committee, or the *Scots* Deputies were here, they ought to have been quiet, ſince the Town was taken; but they began with us, and, I think, brought it upon themſelves. This is the whole Caſe, ſo far as came within my Knowledge, for which his Majeſty was ſo much abuſed.

We took here Collonel *Gray* and Captain *Hacker*, and about 300 Priſoners, and about 300 more were killed. This was the laſt Day of *May* 1645.

His Majeſty having given over *Oxford* for loſt, continued here ſome Days, viewed the Town, ordered

ordered the Fortifications to be augmented, and prepares to make it the Seat of War. But the Parliament, rouzed at this Appearance of the King's Army, order their General to raiſe the Siege of *Oxford*, where the Garriſon had, in a Sally, ruined ſome of their Works, and killed them 150 Men, taking ſeveral Priſoners, and carrying them with them into the City; and orders him to march towards *Leiceſter*, to obſerve the King.

The King had now a ſmall, but gallant Army, all brave tried Soldiers, and ſeemed eager to engage the new-modelled Army; and his Majeſty, hearing that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having raiſed the Siege of *Oxford*, advanced towards him, fairly ſaves him the Trouble of a long March, and meets him half Way.

The Army lay at *Daventry*, and *Fairfax* at *Towceſter*, about 8 Miles off. Here the King ſends away 600 Horſe, with 3000 Head of Cattle, to relieve his People in *Oxford*; the Cattle he might have ſpared better than the Men. The King having thus victualled *Oxford*, changes his Reſolution of fighting *Fairfax*, to whom *Cromwell* was now joined with 4000 Men, or was within a Day's March, and marches Northward. This was unhappy Counſel, becauſe late given: Had we marched Northward at firſt, we had done it; but thus it was. Now we marched with a triumphing Enemy at our Heels, and at *Naſeby* their advanced Parties attacked our Rear. The King, upon this, alters his Reſolution again, and reſolves to fight, and at Midnight calls us up at *Harborough* to come to a Council of War. Fate and the King's Opinion determined the Council of War; and 'twas reſolved to fight. Accordingly the Van, in which was Prince *Rupert*'s Bri-

gade of Horſe, of which my Regiment was a Part, countermarched early in the Morning.

By five a Clock in the Morning, the whole Army, in Order of Battle, began to deſcry the Enemy from the riſing Grounds, about a Mile from *Naſeby*, and moved towards them. They were drawn up on a little Aſcent in a large Common Fallow Field, in one Line extended from one Side of the Field to the other, the Field ſomething more than a Mile over, our Army in the ſame Order, in one Line, with the Reſerves.

The King led the main Battle of Foot, Prince *Rupert* the Right Wing of the Horſe, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left. Of the Enemy *Fairfax* and *Skippon* led the Body, *Cromwell* and *Roſeter* the Right, and *Ireton* the Left. The Numbers of both Armies ſo equal, as not to differ 500 Men, ſave that the King had moſt Horſe by about 1000, and *Fairfax* moſt Foot by about 500. The Number was in each Army about 18000 Men.

The Armies coming cloſe up, the Wings engaged firſt. The Prince with his Right Wing charged with his wanted Fury, and drove all the Parliament's Wing of Horſe, one Diviſion excepted, clear out of the Field. *Ireton*, who commanded this Wing, give him his due, rallied often, and fought like a Lion; but our Wing bore down all before them, and purſued them with a terrible Execution.

Ireton ſeeing one Diviſion of his Horſe left, repaired to them, and keeping his Ground, fell foul of a Brigade of our Foot, who coming up to the Head of the Line, he like mad Man charges them with his Horſe: But they with their Pikes tore him to Pieces; ſo that this

Diviſion

Diviſion was entirely ruined. *Ireton* himſelf thruſt through the Thigh with a Pike, wounded in the Face with a Halberd, was unhorſed and taken Priſoner.

Cromwell, who commanded the Parliament's Right Wing, charged Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with extraordinary Fury; but he an old tried Soldier, ſtood firm, and received the Charge with equal Gallantry, exchanging all their Shot, Carabines and Piſtols, and then fell on Sword in Hand. *Roſeter* and *Whaley* had the better on the Point of the Wing, and routed two Diviſions of Horſe, puſhing them behind the Reſerves, where they rallied, and charged again, but were at laſt defeated; the reſt of the Horſe now charged in the Flank retreated fighting, and were puſhed behind the Reſerves of Foot.

While this was doing, the Foot engaged with equal Feirceneſs, and for two Hours there was a terrible Fire. The King's Foot backed with gallant Officers, and full of Rage at the Rout of their Horſe, bore down the Enemy's Brigade led by *Skippon*. The old Man wounded, bleeding retreats to their Reſerves. All the Foot, except the General's Brigade, were thus driven into the Reſerves, where their Officers rallied them, and bring them on to a freſh Charge; and here the Horſe having driven our Horſe about a Quarter of a Mile from the Foot, face about, and fall in on the Rear of the Foot.

Had our Right Wing done thus, the Day had been ſecured; but Prince *Rupert* according to his Cuſtom, following the flying Enemy, never concerned himſelf with the Safety of thoſe behind; and yet he returned ſooner than he had done in like Caſes too. At our Return we

found all in Confuſion, our Foot broken, all but one Brigade, which though charged in Front, Flank and Rear, could not be broken, till Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himſelf came up to the Charge with freſh Men, and then they were rather cut in Pieces then beaten; for they ſtood with their Pikes charged every Way to the laſt Extremity.

In this Condition, at the Diſtance of a Quarter of a Mile, we ſaw the King rallying his Horſe, and preparing to renew the Fight; and our Wing of Horſe coming up to him, gave him Opportunity to draw up a large Body of Horſe, ſo large, that all the Enemy's Horſe facing us, ſtood ſtill and looked on, but did not think fit to charge us, till their Foot, who had entirely broken our main Battle, were put into Order again, and brought up to us.

The Officers about the King adviſed his Majeſty rather to draw off; for, ſince our Foot were loſt, it would be too much Odds to expoſe the Horſe to the Fury of their whole Army, and would but be ſacrificing his beſt Troops, without any Hopes of Succeſs.

The King, though with great Regret, at the Loſs of his Foot, yet ſeeing there was no other Hope, took this advice, and retreated in good Order to *Harborough*, and from thence to *Leiceſter*.

This was the Occaſion of the Enemy having ſo great a Number of Priſoners; for the Horſe being thus gone off, the Foot had no Means to make their Retreat, and were obliged to yield themſelves. Commiſſary General *Ireton* being taken by a Captain of Foot, makes the Captain his Priſoner, to ſave his Life, and gives him his Liberty for his Courteſy before.

Cromwell

Cromwell and *Roſeter*, with all the Enemy's Horſe, followed us as far as *Leiceſter*, and killed all that they could lay hold on ſtraggling from the Body, but durſt not attempt to charge us in a Body. The King expecting the Enemy would come to *Leiceſter*, removes to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, where we had ſome Time to recollect our ſelves.

This was the moſt fatal Action of the whole War; not ſo much for the Loſs of our Cannon, Ammunition, and Baggage, of which the Enemy boaſted ſo much, but as it was impoſſible for the King ever to retrieve it: The Foot, the beſt that ever he was Maſter of, could never be ſupplied; his Army in the Weſt was expoſed to certain Ruin, the North over-run with the *Scots*; *in ſhort*, the Caſe grew deſperate, and the King was once upon the Point of bidding us all disband, and ſhift for our ſelves.

We loſt in this Fight not above 2000 ſlain, and the Parliament near as many, but the Priſoners were a great Number; the whole Body of Foot being, as I have ſaid, diſperſed, there were 4500 Priſoners, beſides 400 Officers, 2000 Horſes, 12 Pieces of Cannon, 40 Barrels of Powder, all the King's Baggage, Coaches, moſt of his Servants, and his Secretary, with his Cabinet of Letters, of which the Parliament made great Improvement, and, baſely enough cauſed his private Letters between his Majeſty and the Queen, her Majeſty's Letters to the King, and a great deal of ſuch Stuff to be printed.

After this fatal Blow, being retreated, as I have ſaid, to *Aſhby de la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*, the King ordered us to divide; his Majeſty, with a Body of Horſe, about 3000, went to *Litchfield*, and through *Cheſhire* into North *Wales* and

and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about 2500 went to *Newark*.

The King remained in *Wales* for ſeveral Months; and though the Length of the War had almoſt drained that Country of Men, yet the King raiſed a great many Men there, recruited his Horſe Regiments, and got together ſix or ſeven Regiments of Foot, which ſeemed to look like the Beginning of a New Army.

I had frequent Diſcourſes with his Majeſty in this low Ebb of his Affairs, and he would often wiſh he had not expoſed his Army at *Naſeby*. I took the Freedom once to make a Propoſition to his Majeſty, which if it had taken Effect, I verily believe would have given a new Turn to his Affairs; and that was, at once to ſlight all his Garriſons in the Kingdom, and give private Orders to all the Soldiers in every Place, to join in Bodies, and meet at two General Rendezvous, which I would have appointed to be, one at *Briſtol*, and one at *Weſtcheſter*. I demonſtrated how eaſily all the Forces might reach theſe two Places; and both being ſtrong and wealthy Places, and both Sea-Ports, he would have a free Communication by Sea, with *Ireland*, and with his Friends abroad; and having *Wales* entirely his own, he might yet have an Opportunity to make good Terms for himſelf, or elſe have another fair Field with the Enemy.

Upon a fair Calculation of his Troops in ſeveral Garriſons and ſmall Bodies diſperſed about, I convinced the King, by his own Accounts, that he might have two compleat Armies, each of 25000 Foot, 8000 Horſe, and 2000 Dragoons; that the Lord *Goring* and the Lord *Hopton* might Ship all their Forces, and come by

by Sea in two Tides, and be with him in a ſhorter Time than the Enemy could follow.

With two ſuch Bodies he might face the Enemy, and make a Day of it; but now his Men were only ſacrificed, and eaten up by Piece-meal in a Party-War, and ſpent their Lives and Eſtates to do him no Service: That if the Parliament garriſoned the Towns and Caſtles he ſhould quit, they would leſſen their Army, and not dare to ſee him in the Field; and if they did not, but left them open, then 'twould be no Loſs to him, but he might poſſeſs them as often as he pleaſed.

This Advice I preſſed with ſuch Arguments, that the King was once going to diſpatch Orders for the doing it; but to be irreſolute in Counſel, is always the Companion of a declining Fortune; the King was doubtful, and could not reſolve till it was too late.

And yet, though the King's Forces were very low, his Majeſty was reſolved to make one Adventure more, and it was a ſtrange one; for, with but a Handful of Men he made a deſperate March, almoſt 250 Miles in the Middle of the whole Kingdom, compaſſed about with Armies and Parties innumerable, traverſed the Heart of his Enemy's Country, entered their aſſociated Counties, where no Army had ever yet come, and in ſpight of all their victorious Troops facing and following him, alarmed even *London* it ſelf, and returned ſafe to *Oxford*.

His Majeſty continued in *Wales* from the Battle at *Naſeby* till the 5th or 6th *Auguſt*, and till he had an Account from all parts of the Progreſs of his Enemies, and the Poſture of his own Affairs.

Here

Here he found, that the Enemy being hard preſſed in *Somerſetſhire* by the Lord *Goring*, and Lord *Hopton*'s Forces, who had take *Bridgewater*, and diſtreſſed *Taunton*, which was now at the Point of Surrender, they had ordered *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, and the whole Army to march Weſtward, to relieve the Town; which they did, and *Goring*'s Troops were worſted, and himſelf wounded at the Fight at *Langport*.

The *Scots*, who were always the dead Weight upon the King's Affairs, having no more Work to do in the North, were, at the Parliament's Deſire, advanced Southward, and then ordered away towards South *Wales*, and were ſet down to the Siege of *Hereford*. Here this famous *Scotch* Army ſpent ſeveral Months in a fruitleſs Siege, ill provided of Ammunition, and worſe with Money; and having ſat near three Months before the Town, and done little but eaten up the Country round them; upon the repeated Accounts of the Progreſs of the Marqueſs of *Montroſe* in that Kingdom, and preſſing Inſtances of their Countrymen, they reſolved to raiſe their Siege, and go home to relieve their Friends.

The King, who was willing to be rid of the *Scots*, upon good Terms; and therefore to haſten them, and leaſt they ſhould pretend to puſh on the Siege to take the Town firſt, gives it out, that he was reſolved with all his Forces to go into *Scotland*, and join *Montroſe*; and ſo having ſecured *Scotland*, to renew the War from thence.

And accordingly his Majeſty marches Northwards, with a Body of 4000 Horſe; and, had the King really done this, and with that Body of Horſe marched away, (for he had the Start of all his Enemies, by above a Fortnight's March) he

he had then had the faireſt Opportunity for a general Turn of all his Affairs, that he ever had in all the latter Part of this War: For *Montroſe*, a gallant daring Soldier, who from the leaſt Shadow of Force in the fartheſt Corner of his Country, had, rowling like a Snow Ball, ſpread all over *Scotland*, was come into the South Parts, and had ſummoned *Edinburgh*, frighted away their Stateſmen, beaten their Soldiers at *Dundee* and other Places, and Letters and Meſſengers in the Heels of one another, repeated their Cries to their Brethren in *England*, to lay before them the ſad Condition of the Country, and to haſten the Army to their Relief. The *Scots* Lords of the Enemy's Party fled to *Berwick*, and the Chancellor of *Scotland* goes himſelf to General *Leſly*, to preſs him for help.

In this Extremity of Affairs *Scotland* lay, when we marched out of *Wales*. The *Scots* at the Siege of *Hereford* hearing the King was gone Northward with his Horſe, conclude he was gone directly for *Scotland*, and immediately ſend *Leſly* with 4000 Horſe and Foot to follow, but did not yet raiſe the Siege.

But the King ſtill irreſolute, turns away to the Eaſtward, and comes to *Litchfield*, where he ſhewed his Reſentments at Collonel *Haſtings*, for his eaſy Surrender of *Leiceſter*.

In this March the Enemy took Heart; we had Troops of Horſe on every Side upon us, like Hounds ſtarted at a freſh Stag. *Leſly*, with the *Scots*, and a ſtrong Body followed in our Rear, Major General *Points*, Sir *John Gell*, Collonel *Roſeter*, and others, in our Way; they pretended to be 10000 Horſe, and yet never durſt face us. The *Scots* made one Attempt upon a Troop which ſtayed

ſtayed a little behind, and took ſome Priſoners; but when a Regiment of our Horſe faced them, they retired. At a Village near *Litchfield*, another Party of about 1000 Horſe attacked my Regiment; we were on the left of the Army, and, at a little too far a Diſtance. I happened to be with the King at that time, and my Lieutenant Collonel with me; ſo that the Major had Charge of the Regiment; he made a very handſome Defence, but ſent Meſſengers for ſpeedy Relief; we were on a March, and therefore all ready, and the King orders me a Regiment of Dragoons and 300 Horſe, and the Body halted to bring us off, not knowing how ſtrong the Enemy might be. When I came to the Place I found my Major hard layed to, but fighting like a Lion; the Enemy had broke in upon him in two Places, and had routed one Troop, cutting them off from the Body, and had made them all Priſoners. Upon this I fell in with the 300 Horſe, and cleared my Major from a Party who charged him in the Flank; the Dragoons immediately lighting, one Party of them comes up on my Wing, and ſaluting the Enemy with their Muſquets, put them to a ſtand; the other Party of Dragoons wheeling to the Left, endeavoured to get behind them. The Enemy perceiving they ſhould be over-powered, retreated in as good Order as they could, but left us moſt of our Priſoners, and about 30 of their own. We loſt about 15 of our Men, and the Enemy about 40, chiefly by the Fire of our Dragoons in their Retreat.

In this Poſture we continued our March; and though the King halted at *Litchfield*, which was a dangerous Article, having ſo many of the Enemy's Troops upon his Hands, and this Time gave

gave them Opportunity to get into a Body; yet the *Scots*, with their General *Leſly*, reſolving for the North, the reſt of the Troops were not able to face us, till having ravaged the Enemy's Country through *Staffordſhire*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, we came to the Leaguer before *Newark*.

The King was once more on the Mind to have gone into *Scotland*, and called a Council of War to that Purpoſe; but then it was reſolved by all Hands, that it would be too late to attempt it; for the *Scots* and Major General *Pointz* were before us, and ſeveral ſtrong Bodies of Horſe in our Rear; and there was no venturing now, unleſs any Advantage preſented to rout one of thoſe Parties which attended us.

Upon theſe and like Conſiderations we reſolved for *Newark*; on our Approach the Forces which blocked up that Town drew off, being too weak to oppoſe us; for the King was now above 5000 Horſe and Dragoons, beſides 300 Horſe and Dragoons he took with him from *Newark*.

We halted at *Newark* to aſſiſt the Garriſon, or give them Time rather to furniſh themſelves from the Country with what they wanted, which they were very diligent in doing; for in two Days time they filled a large Iſland which lies under the Town, between the two Branches of the *Trent*, with Sheep, Oxen, Cows and Horſes, an incredible Number; and our Affairs being now ſomething deſperate, we were not very nice in our Uſage of the Country; for really if it was not with a Reſolution, both to puniſh the Enemy and enrich our ſelves, no Man can give any rational Account why this deſperate Journey was undertaken.

'Tis

'Tis certain the *Newarkers*, in the Reſpite they gained by our coming, got above 50000 l. from the Country round them, in Corn, Cattle, Money, and other Plunder.

From hence we broke into *Lincolnſhire*, and the King lay at *Belvoir* Caſtle, and from *Belvoir* Caſtle to *Stamford*. The Swiftneſs of our March was a terrible Surprize to the Enemy; for our Van being at a Village on the great Road called *Stilton*, the Country People fled into the Iſle of *Ely*, and every Way, as if all was loſt. Indeed our Dragoons treated the Country very coarſly; and all our Men in general made themſelves rich. Between *Stilton* and *Huntingdon* we had a ſmall Buſtle with ſome of the Aſſociation Troops of Horſe, but they were ſoon routed, and fled to *Huntingdon*, where they gave ſuch an Account of us to their Fellows, that they did not think fit to ſtay for us, but left their Foot to defend themſelves as well as they could.

While this was doing in the Van, a Party from *Burleigh* Houſe, near *Stamford*, the Seat of the Earl of *Exeter*, purſued four Troops of our Horſe, who ſtraggling towards *Peterborough*, and committing ſome Diſorders there, were ſurprized before they could get into a Poſture of Fighting; and encumbered, as I ſuppoſe, with their Plunder, they were entirely routed, loſt moſt of their Horſes, and were forced to come away on Foot; but finding themſelves in this Condition, they got into a Body in the Encloſures, and in that Poſture turning Dragoons, they lined the Hedges, and fired upon the Enemy with their Carabines. This way of Fighting, though not very pleaſant to Troopers, put the Enemy's Horſe to ſome Stand, and encouraged our Men to venture into a Village, where the

Enemy had ſecured 40 of their Horſe; and boldly charging the Guard, they beat them off and recovered thoſe Horſes; the reſt made their Retreat good to *Wandsford* Bridge; but we loſt near 100 Horſes, and about 12 of our Men taken Priſoners.

The next Day the King took *Huntington*; the Foot which were left in the Town, as I obſerved by their Horſe, had poſted themſelves at the Foot of the Bridge, and fortified the Paſs, with ſuch Things as the Haſte and Shortneſs of the Time would allow; and in this Poſture they ſeemed reſolute to defend themſelves. I confeſs, had they in Time planted a good Force here, they might have put a full Stop to our little Army; for the River is large and deep, the Country on the left marſhy, full of Drains and Ditches, and unfit for Horſe, and we muſt have either turned back, or took the Right Hand into *Bedfordſhire*; but here not being above 400 Foot, and they forſaken of their Horſe, the Reſiſtance they made was to no other Purpoſe than to give us Occaſion to knock them in the Head, and plunder the Town.

However, they defended the Bridge, as I have ſaid, and oppoſed our Paſſage. I was this Day in the Van, and our Forelorn having entered *Huntington* without any great Reſiſtance till they came to the Bridge, finding it barricaded, they ſent me Word; I cauſed the Troops to halt, and rid up to the Forelorn, to view the Countenance of the Enemy, and found by the Poſture they had put themſelves in, that they reſolved to ſell us the Paſſage as dear as they could.

I ſent to the King forſome Dragoons, and gave him Account of what I obſerved of the Enemy, and

that I judged them to be 1000 Men; for I could not particularly ſee their Numbers. Accordingly the King ordered 500 Dragoons to attack the Bridge, commanded by a Major; the Enemy had 200 Muſqueteers placed on the Bridge, their Barricade ſerved them for a Breaſt-work on the Front, and the low Walls on the Bridge ſerved to ſecure their Flanks: Two Bodies of their Foot were placed on the oppoſite Banks of the River, and a Reſerve ſtood in the High-way on the Rear. The Number of their Men could not have been better ordered, and they wanted not Courage anſwerable to the Conduct of the Party. They were commanded by one *Bennet*, a reſolute Officer, who ſtood in the Front of his Men on the Bridge with a Pike in his Hand.

Before we began to fall on, the King ordered to view the River, to ſee if it was no where paſſable, or any Boat to be had; but the River being not fordable, and the Boats all ſecured on the other Side, the Attack was reſolved on, and the Dragoons fell on with extraordinary Bravery. The Foot defended themſelves obſtinately, and beat off our Dragoons twice; and though *Bennet* was killed upon the Spot, and after him him his Lieutenant, yet their Officers relieving them with freſh Men, they would certainly have beat us all off, had not a venturous Fellow, one of our Dragoons thrown himſelf into the River, ſwum over, and, in the midſt of a Shower of Muſquet Bullets, cut the Rope which tied a great flat-bottom Boat, and brought her over: With the Help of this Boat, I got over 100 Troopers firſt, and then their Horſes, and then 200 more without their Horſes; and with this Party fell in with one of the ſmall Bodies of Foot that were poſted on that Side,

and

and having routed them, and after them the Reſerve which ſtood in the Road, I made up to the other Party; they ſtood their Ground, and having rallied the Run-aways of both the other Parties, charged me with their Pikes, and brought me to a Retreat; but by this time the King had ſent over 300 Men more, and they coming up to me, the Foot retreated. Thoſe on the Bridge finding how 'twas, and having no Supplies ſent them, as before, fainted, and fled; and the Dragoons ruſhing forward, moſt of them were killed; about 150 of the Enemy were killed, of which all the Officers at the Bridge, the reſt run away.

The Town ſuffered for it; for our Men left them little of any thing they could carry. Here we halted, and raiſed Contributions, took Money of the Country, and of the open Towns, to exempt them from Plunder. Twice we faced the Town of *Cambridge*, and ſeveral of our Officers adviſed his Majeſty to ſtorm it; but having no Foot, and but 1200 Dragoons, wiſer Heads diverted him from it; and, leaving *Cambridge* on the left, we marched to *Wooburn*, in *Bedfordſhire*, and our Parties raiſed Money all over the County quite into *Hertfordſhire*, within 5 Miles of St. *Alban*'s.

The Swiftneſs of our March, and Uncertainty which Way we intended, prevented all poſſible Preparation to oppoſe us, and we met with no Party able to make Head againſt us. From *Wooburn* the King went through *Buckingham* to *Oxford*; ſome of our Men ſtraggling in the Villages for Plunder, were often picked up by the Enemy; but in all this long March we did not looſe 200 Men, got an incredible Booty, and

brought 6 Waggons loaden with Money, beſides 2000 Horſes, and 3000 Head of Cattle into *Oxford*.

From *Oxford* his Majeſty moves again into *Glouceſterſhire* having left about 1500 of his Horſe at *Oxford*, to ſcour the Country, and raiſe Contributions, which they did as far as *Reading*.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was returned from taking *Bridgewater*, and was ſat down before *Briſtol*, in which Prince *Rupert* commanded with a ſtrong Garriſon, 2500 Foot and 1000 Horſe. We had not Force enough to attempt any thing there; but the *Scots*, who lay ſtill before *Hereford*, were afraid of us, having before parted with all their Horſe under Lieutenant General *Leſly*, and but ill ſtored with Proviſions; and, if we came on their Backs, were in a fair way to be ſtarved, or made to buy their Proviſions at the Price of their Blood.

His Majeſty was ſenſible of this, and had we had but 10 Regiments of Foot, would certainly have fought the *Scots*; but we had no Foot, or ſo few as was not worth while to march them. However, the King marched to *Worceſter*, and the *Scots* apprehending they ſhould be blocked up, immediately raiſed the Siege, pretending it was to go help their Brethren in *Scotland*, and away they marched Northwards.

We picked up ſome of their Stragglers, but they were ſo poor, had been ſo ill paid, and ſo harraſſed at the Siege, that they had neither Money nor Clothes; and the poor Soldiers fed upon Apples and Roots, and eat the very green Corn as it grew in the Fields, which reduced them to a very ſorry Condition of Health, for they died like People infected with the Plague.

'Twas now debated whether we ſhould yet march for *Scotland*, but two Things prevented. 1. The Plague was broke out there, and Multitudes died of it, which made the King backward, and the Men more backward. 2. The Marqueſs of *Montroſe* having routed a whole Brigade of *Leſly*'s beſt Horſe, and carried all before him, wrote to his Majeſty, that he did not now want Aſſiſtance, but was in Hopes in a few Days to ſend a Body of Foot into *England*, to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance. This over Confidence of his was his Ruine; for, on the contrary, had he earneſtly preſſed the King to have marched, and fallen in with his Horſe, the King had done it, and been abſolutely Maſter of *Scotland* in a Fortnight's time; but *Montroſe* was too confident, and defied them all, till at laſt they got their Forces together, and *Leſly*, with his Horſe out of *England*, and worſted him in two or three Encounters, and then never left him till they drove him out of *Scotland*.

While his Majeſty ſtayed at *Worceſter* ſeveral Meſſengers came to him from *Cheſhire* for Relief, being exceedingly ſtreightened by the Forces of the Parliament: In order to which, the King marched, but *Shrewsbury* being in the Enemy's Hands, he was obliged to go round by *Ludlow*, where he was joined by ſome Foot out of *Wales*. I took this Opportunity to ask his Majeſty's Leave to go by *Shrewsbury* to my Father's, and taking only two Servants, I left the Army two Days before they marched.

This was the moſt Unſoldier-like Action that ever I was guilty of, to go out of the Army to pay a Viſit, when a Time of Action was juſt at Hand; and, though I proteſt I had not the leaſt Intimation, no not from my own Thoughts, that the

Army would engage, at leaſt before they came to *Cheſter*, before which I intended to meet them; yet it looked ſo ill, ſo like an Excuſe, or a Sham of Cowardiſe, or Diſaffection to the Cauſe, and to my Maſter's Intereſt, or ſomething I know not what, that I could not bear to think of it, nor never had the Heart to ſee the King's Face after it.

From *Ludlow* the King marched to relieve *Cheſter*; *Poyntz*, who commanded the Parliament's Forces, follows the King, with Deſign to join with the Forces before *Cheſter*, under Collonel *Jones*, before the King could come up. To that End *Poyntz* paſſes through *Shrewsbury* the Day that the King marched from *Ludlow*; yet the King's Forces got the Start of him, and forced him to engage: Had the King engaged him but three Hours ſooner, and conſequently farther off from *Cheſter*, he had ruined him; for *Poyntz*'s Men not able to ſtand the Shock of the King's Horſe, gave Ground, and would in half an Hour more been beaten out of the Field; but Collonel *Jones*, with a ſtrong Party from the Camp, which was within two Miles, comes up in the Heat of the Action, falls on in the King's Rear, and turned the Scale of the Day: The Body was, after an obſtinate Fight defeated, and a great many Gentlemen of Quality killed and taken Priſoners; the Earl of *Litchfield* was of the Number of the former, and 67 Officers of the latter, with 1000 others.

The King with about 500 Horſe got into *Cheſter*, and from thence into *Wales*, whither all that could get away made up to him as faſt as they could, but in a bad Condition.

This was the laſt Stroke they ſtruck, the reſt of the War was nothing but taking all his Garriſons

riſons from him, one by one, till they finiſhed the War, with the captivating his Perſon, and then, for want of other Buſineſs, fell to fighting with one another.

I was quite diſconſolate at the News of this laſt Action, and the more becauſe I was not there; my Regiment was wholly diſperſed, my Lieutenant Collonel, a Gentleman of a good Family, and a near Relation to my Mother, was Priſoner, my Major and three Captains killed, and moſt of the reſt Priſoners.

The King, hopeleſs of any conſiderable Party in *Wales*, *Briſtol* being ſurrendered, ſends for Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, who came to him. With them, and the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and a great Train of Gentlemen, his Majeſty marches to *Newark* again, leaves a Thouſand Horſe with Sir *William Vaughan*, to attempt the Relief of *Cheſter*, in doing whereof he was routed the ſecond time by *Jones* and his Men, and entirely diſperſed.

The chief Strength the King had in theſe Parts was at *Newark*, and the Parliament were very earneſt with the *Scots* to march Southward, and to lay Siege to *Newark*; and while the Parliament preſſed them to it, and they ſat ſtill, and delayed it, ſeveral Heats began, and ſome ill blood between them, which afterwards broke out into open War. The *Engliſh* reproached the *Scots* with pretending to help them, and really hindering their Affairs. The *Scots* returned, that they come to fight for them, and are left to be ſtarved, and can neither get Money nor Clothes. At laſt they came to this, the *Scots* will come to the Siege, if the Parliament will ſend them Money, but not before: However, as People ſooner agree in doing ill,

than in doing well, they came to Terms, and the *Scots* came with their whole Army to the Siege of *Newark*.

The King, foreſeeing the Siege, calls his Fiends about him, tells them, he ſees his Circumſtances are ſuch, that they can help him but little, nor he protect them, and adviſes them to ſeparate. The Lord *Digby*, with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with a ſtrong Body of Horſe, attempt to get into *Scotland*, to join with *Montroſe*, who was ſtill in the Highlands, though reduced to a low Ebb; but theſe Gentlemen are fallen upon on every Side and routed, and at laſt being totally broken and diſperſed, they fly to the Earl of *Derby*'s Protection in the Iſle of Man.

Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Collonel *Gerrard*, and above 400 Gentlemen, all Officers of Horſe, lay their Commiſſions down, and ſiezing, upon *Wooton* Houſe for a Retreat, make Propoſals to the Parliament to leave the Kingdom, upon their Parole not to return again in Arms againſt the Parliament, which was accepted, though afterwards the Princes declined it. I ſent my Man Poſt to the Prince to be included in this Treaty, and for Leave for all that would accept of like Conditions, but they had given in the Liſt of their Names, and could not alter it.

This was a ſad Time; the poor Remains of the King's Fortunes went every where to wreck; every Garriſon of the Enemy was full of the Cavalier Priſoners, and every Garriſon the King had was beſet with Enemies, either blocked up or beſieged. *Goring* and the Lord *Hopton* were the only Remainders of the King's Forces, which kept in a Body, and *Fairfax* was

puſhing

puſhing them with all imaginable Vigour with his whole Army, about *Exeter*, and other Parts of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*.

In this Condition the King left *Newark* in the Night, and got to *Oxford*. The King had in *Oxford* 8000 Men, and the Towns of *Banbury*, *Farrington*, *Dunnington* Caſtle, and ſuch Places as might have been brought together in 24 Hours, 15 or 20000 Men, with which if he had then reſolved to have quitted the Place, and collected the Forces in *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Lichfield*, *Aſhby de la Zouch*, and all the ſmall Caſtles and Garriſons he had thereabouts, he might have had near 40000 Men, might have beaten the *Scots* from *Newark*, Collonel *Jones* from *Cheſter*, and all, before *Fairfax* who was in the Weſt, could be able to come to their Relief, and this his Majeſty's Friends in North *Wales* had concerted; and, in order to it, Sir *Jacob Aſhby* gathered what Forces he could, in our Parts, and attempted to join the King at *Oxford*, and to have propoſed it to him; but Sir *Jacob* was entirely routed at *Stow on the Would*, and taken Priſoner, and of 3000 Men not above 600 came to *Oxford*.

All the King's Garriſons dropt one by one; *Hereford* which had ſtood out againſt the whole Army of the *Scots* was ſurprized by ſix Men and a Lieutenant dreſſed up for Country Labourers, and a Conſtable preſſed to work, who cut the Guards in Pieces, and let in a Party of the Enemy.

Cheſter was reduced by Famine, all the Attempts the King made to relieve it being fruſtrated.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* routed the Lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, and drove him to ſuch Extremities, that

that he was forced up into the fartheſt Corner of *Cornwall*. The Lord *Hopton* had a gallant Body of Horſe with him of nine Brigades, but no Foot; *Fairfax*, a great Army.

Heartleſs, and tired out with continual ill News, and ill Succeſs, I had frequent Meetings with ſome Gentlemen, who had eſcaped from the Rout of Sir *William Vaughan*, and we agreed upon a Meeting at *Worceſter* of all the Friends we could get, to ſee if we could raiſe a Body fit to do any Service; or, if not, to conſider what was to be done. At this Meeting we had almoſt as many Opinions as People; our Strength appeared too weak to make any Attempt, the Game was too far gone in our Parts to be retrieved; all we could make up did not amount to above 800 Horſe.

'Twas unanimouſly agreed not to go into the Parliament as long as our Royal Maſter did not give up the Cauſe; but in all Places, and by all poſſible Methods, to do him all the Service we could. Some propoſed one thing, ſome another; at laſt we propoſed getting Veſſels to carry us to the Iſle of *Man* to the Earl of *Derby*, as Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Lord *Digby*, and others had done. I did not foreſee any Service it would be to the King's Affairs, but I ſtarted a Propoſal, that marching to *Pembrook* in a Body, we ſhould there ſieze upon all the Veſſels we could, and embarking our ſelves, Horſes, and what Foot we could get, croſs the *Severn* Sea, and land in *Cornwall* to the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Charles*, who was in the Army of the Lord *Hopton*, and where only there ſeemed to be any Poſſibility of a Chance for the remaining part of our Cauſe.

This Propoſal was not without its Difficulties, as how to get to the Sea-ſide, and, when there, what

what Aſſurance of Shipping. The Enemy, under Major General *Langhorn* had over-run *Wales*, and 'twould be next to impoſſible to effect it.

We could never carry our Propoſal with the whole Aſſembly; but however, about 200 of us reſolved to attempt it, and Meeting being broke up without coming to any Concluſion, we had a private Meeting among our ſelves to effect it.

We diſpatched private Meſſengers to *Swanzey* and *Pembrook*, and other Places; but they all diſcouraged us from the Attempt that way, and adviſed us to go higher towards North *Wales*, where the King's Intereſt had more Friends, and the Parliament no Forces. Upon this we met, and reſolved, and having ſent ſeveral Meſſengers that Way, one of my Men provided us two ſmall Veſſels in a little Creek near *Harlegh* Caſtle, in *Merionethſhire*. We marched away with what Expedition we could, and embarked in the two Veſſels accordingly. It was the worſt Voyage ſure that ever Man went; for firſt, we had no Manner of Accomodation for ſo many People, Hay for our Horſes we got none, or very little, but good Store of Oats, which ſerved us for our own Bread as well as Provender for the Horſes.

In this Condition we put off to Sea, and had a fair Wind all the firſt Night, but early in the Morning a ſudden Storm drove us within two or three Leagues of *Ireland*. In this Pickle Sea-Sick our Horſes rouling about upon one another, and our ſelves ſtifled for want of Room, no Cabins nor Beds, very cold Weather, and very indifferent Diet, we wiſhed our ſelves aſhore again a thouſand times; and yet we were not willing to go on Shore in *Ireland*, if we could help

help it; for the Rebels having Poſſeſſion of every Place, that was juſt having our Throats cut at once. Having rouled about at the Mercy of the Winds all Day, the Storm ceaſing in the Evening, we had fair Weather again, but Wind enough, which being large, in two Days and a Night we came upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and, to our no ſmall Comfort, landed the next Day at St. *Ives* in the County of *Cornwall*.

We reſted our ſelves here, and ſent an Expreſs to the Lord *Hopton*, who was then in *Devonſhire*, of our Arrival, and deſired him to aſſign us Quarters, and ſend us his farther Orders. His Lordſhip expreſſed a very great Satisfaction at our Arrival, and left it to our own Conduct to join him as we ſaw convenient.

We were marching to join him, when News came, that *Fairfax* had given him an entire Defeat at *Torrington*. This was but the old Story over again; we had been uſed to ill News a great while, and 'twas the leſs Surprize to us.

Upon this News we halted at *Bodmin*, till we ſhould hear farther; and it was not long before we ſaw a Confirmation of the News before our Eyes; for the Lord *Hopton*, with the Remainder of his Horſe, which he had brought off at *Torrington* in a very ſhattered Condition, retreated to *Lanceſton*, the firſt Town in *Cornwall*, and hearing that *Fairfax* purſued him, came on to *Bodmin*. Hither he ſummoned all the Troops which he had left, which when he had got together, were a fine Body indeed of 5000 Horſe, but few Foot but what were at *Pendennis*, *Barnſtable*, and other Garriſons; theſe were commanded by the Lord *Hopton*; the Lord *Goring* had taken ſhipping for *France*, to get Relief, a few Days before.

Here

Here a Grand Council of War was called, and ſeveral things were propoſed, but as it always is in Diſtreſs, People are moſt irreſolute, ſo 'twas here: Some were for breaking through by Force, our Number being ſuperiour to the Enemy's Horſe. To fight them with their Foot would be Deſperation, and ridiculous; and to retreat, would but be to coop up themſelves in a narrow Place, where at laſt they muſt be forced to fight upon Diſadvantage, or yield at Mercy. Others oppoſed this as a deſperate Action, and without Probability of Succeſs; and all were of different Opinions: I confeſs, when I ſaw how things were, I ſaw 'twas a loſt Game, and I was for the Opinion of breaking through, and doing it now, while the Country was open and large, and not being forced to it when it muſt be with more Diſadvantage; but nothing was reſolved on, and ſo we retreated before the Enemy. Some ſmall Skirmiſhes there happened near *Bodmin*, but none that were very conſiderable.

'Twas the 1ſt of *March* when we quitted *Bodmin*, and quartered at large at *Columb*, *St. Denis* and *Truro*, and the Enemy took his Quarters at *Bodmin*, poſting his Horſe at the Paſſes from *Padſtow* on the North, to *War-bridge Leſtithel* and *Foy*, ſpreading ſo from Sea to Sea, that now breaking through was impoſſible. There was no more Room for Counſel; for unleſs we had Ships to carry us off, we had nothing to do but when we were fallen upon, to defend our ſelves, and ſell Victory as dear as we could to the Enemies.

The Prince of *Wales* ſeeing the Diſtreſs we were in, and loath to fall into the Enemy's Hands, ſhips himſelf on board ſome Veſſels at *Falmouth*, with

with about 400 Lords and Gentlemen; and, as I had no Command here, to oblige my Attendance, I was once going to make one; but my Comerades, whom I had been the principal Occaſion of bringing hither, began to take it ill, that I would leave them, and ſo I reſolved we would take our Fate together.

While thus we had nothing before us but a Soldier's Death, a fair Field, and a ſtrong Enemy, and People began to look one upon another: The Soldiers asked how their Officers looked, and the Officers asked how their Soldiers looked, and every Day we expected to be our laſt, when unexpectedly the Enemy's General ſent a Trumpet to *Truro* to my Lord *Hopton* with a very handſom Gentleman-like Offer.

That ſince the General could not be ignorant of his preſent Condition, and that the Place he was in could not afford him Subſiſtance or Defence; and eſpecially conſidering that the State of our Affairs were ſuch, that if we ſhould eſcape from thence, we could not remove to our Advantage, he had thought good to let us know, *That if we would deliver up our Horſes and Arms, he would, for avoiding the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, or the putting any unſoldiery Extremities upon us, allow ſuch honourable and ſafe Conditions, as were rather better than our preſent Circumſtances could demand, and ſuch as ſhould diſcharge him to all the World, as a Gentleman, as a Soldier, and as a Chriſtian.*

After this followed the Conditions he would give us, which were as follows, (*viz.*) *That all the Soldiery, as well* Engliſh *as Foreigners, ſhould have Liberty to go beyond the Seas, or to their own Dwellings, as they pleaſed; and to ſuch as ſhall chuſe to live at home, Protection for their Liberty, and from all*

Vio-

Violence, and plundering of Soldiers, and to give them Bag and Baggage, and all their Goods, except Horſes and Arms.

That for Officers in Commiſſion, and Gentlemen of Quality, he would allow them Horſes for themſelves and one Servant, or more, ſuitable to their Quality, and ſuch Arms as are ſuitable to Gentlemen of ſuch Quality travelling in Times of Peace; and ſuch Officers as would go beyond Sea, ſhould take with them their full Arms and Number of Horſes as are allowed in the Army to ſuch Officers.

That all the Troopers ſhould receive on the Delivery of their Horſes, 20s. a Man, to carry them home; and the General's Paſs and Recommendation to any Gentleman who deſires to go to the Parliament to ſettle the Compoſition for their Eſtates.

Laſtly, A very honourable Mention of the General, and Offer of their Mediation to the Parliament, to treat him as a Man of Honour, and one who has been tender of the Country, and behaved himſelf with all the Moderation and Candor that could be expected from an Enemy.

Upon the unexpected Receipt of this Meſſage, a Council of War was called, and the Letter read; no Man offered to ſpeak a Word; the General moved it, but every one was loath to begin.

At laſt, an old Collonel ſtarts up, and asked the General what he thought might occaſion the writing this Letter? The General told him, *he could not tell*; but he could tell he was ſure of one thing, that he knew what was not the Occaſion of it *(viz.)* That is, not any want of Force in their Army to oblige us to other Terms. Then a Doubt was ſtarted, whether the King and Parliament were not in any Treaty, which this Agreement might be prejudicial to.

This

This occaſioned a Letter to my Lord *Fairfax*, wherein our General returning the Civilities, and neither accepting nor refuſing his Propoſal, put it upon his Honour, whether there was not ſome Agreement or Conceſſion between his Majeſty and the Parliament, in order to a General Peace, which this Treaty might be prejudicial to, or thereby be prejudicial to us.

The Lord *Fairfax* ingenuouſly declared, he had heard the King had made ſome Conceſſions, and he heartily wiſhed he would make ſuch as would ſettle the Kingdom in Peace, that *Engliſhmen* might not wound and deſtroy one another; *but that he declared he knew of no Treaty commenced, nor any Thing paſt which could give us the leaſt Shadow of hope for any Advantage in not accepting his Conditions.* At laſt telling us, *That though he did not inſult over our Circumſtances, yet if we thought fit, upon any ſuch Suppoſition, to refuſe his Offers, he was not to ſeek in his Meaſures.*

And it appeared ſo, for he immediately advanced his Forlorns, and diſpoſſeſſed us of two advanced Quarters, and thereby ſtreightened us yet more.

We had now nothing to ſay, but treat, and our General was ſo ſenſible of our Condition, that he returned the Trumpet with a ſafe Conduct for Commiſſioners at 12 a Clock that Night; upon which a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed on, we quitting *Truro* to the Lord *Fairfax*, and he left St *Allan*'s to us to keep our head Quarter.

The Conditions were ſoon agreed on, we diſbanded nine full Brigades of Horſe, and all the Conditions were obſerved with the moſt Honour and Care by the Enemy that ever I ſaw in my Life.

Nor

Nor can I omit to make very honourable Mention of this noble Gentleman, though I did not like his Cauſe; but I never ſaw a Man of a more pleaſant, calm, courteous, down-right, honeſt Behaviour in my Life; and, for his Courage and perſonal Bravery in the Field, that we had felt enough of. No Man in the World had more Fire and Fury in him while in Action, or more Temper and Softneſs out of it. In ſhort, and I cannot do him greater Honour, he excedingly came near the Character of my Foreign Heroe *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and in my Account, is, of all the Soldiers in *Europe*, the fitteſt to be reckoned in the ſecond Place of Honour to him.

I had particular Occaſion to ſee much of his Temper in all this Action, being one of the Hoſtages given by our General for the Performance of the Conditions, in which Circumſtance the General did me ſeveral times the Honour to ſend to me to dine with him; and was exceedingly pleaſed to diſcourſe with me about the Paſſages of the Wars in *Germany*, which I had ſerved in; he having been at the ſame time in the *Low Countries*, in the Service of Prince *Maurice*; but I obſerved if at any time my Civilities extended to Commendations of his own Actions, and eſpecially to comparing him to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, he would bluſh like a Woman, and be uneaſy, declining the Diſcourſe, and in this he was ſtill more like him.

Let no Man ſcruple my honourable Mention of this noble Enemy, ſince no Man can ſuſpect me of favouring the Cauſe he embarked in, which I ſerved as heartily againſt as any Man in the Army; but I cannot conceal extraordinary Merit for its being placed in an Enemy.

This was the End of our making War; for now we were all under Parole never to bear Arms againſt the Parliament; and though ſome of us did not keep our Word, yet I think a Soldier's Parole ought to be the moſt ſacred in ſuch Caſe, that a Soldier may be the eaſier truſted at all Times upon his Word.

For my Part I went home fully contented, ſince I could do my Royal Maſter no better Service, that I had come off no worſe.

The Enemy going now on in a full Current of Succeſs, and the King reduced to the laſt Extremity, and *Fairfax*, by long Marches, being come back within five Miles of *Oxford*; his Majeſty loath to be cooped up in a Town which could on no Account hold long out, quits the Town in a Diſguiſe, leaving Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governour, and being only attended with Mr. *Aſhburnham* and one more, rides away to *Newark* and there fatally committed himſelf to the Honour and Fidelity of the *Scots*, under General *Leven*.

There had been ſome little Bickering between the Parliament and the *Scots* Commiſſioners, concerning the Propoſitions which the *Scots* were for a Treaty with the King upon, and the Parliament refuſed it. The Parliament, upon all Propoſals of Peace, had formerly invited the King to come and throw himſelf upon the Honour, Fidelity and Affection of his Parliament; and now the King from *Oxford* offering to come up to *London*, on the Protection of the Parliament for the Safety of his Perſon, they refuſed him, and the *Scots* differed from them in it, and were for a perſonal Treaty.

This, in our Opinion, was the Reaſon which prompted the King to throw himſelf upon the Fidelity

delity of the *Scots*, who really by their Infidelity had been the Ruine of all his Affairs, and now, by their perfidious Breach of Honour and Faith with him, will be virtually and mediately the Ruine of his Perſon.

The *Scots* were, as all the Nation beſides them was, ſurprized at the King's coming among them; the Parliament began very high with them, and ſend an Order to General *Leven* to ſend the King to *Warwick* Caſtle; but he was not ſo haſty to part with ſo rich a Prize. As ſoon as the King came to the General, he ſigns an Order to Collonel *Ballaſis*, the Governour of *Newark*, to ſurrender it, and immediately the *Scots* decamp homewards, carrying the King in the Camp with them, and marching on, a Houſe was ordered to be provided for the King at *Newcaſtle*.

And now the Parliament ſaw their Error, in refuſing his Majeſty a Perſonal Treaty, which if they had accepted, (their Army was not yet taught the way of huffing their Maſters,) the Kingdom might have been ſettled in Peace. Upon this the Parliament ſend to General *Leven* to have his Majeſty not *be ſent*, which was their firſt Language, but *be ſuffered to come* to *London*, to treat with his Parliament; before it was, *Let the King be ſent to* Warwick *Caſtle*; now 'tis, *To let his Majeſty come to* London *to treat with his People*.

But neither one or the other would do with the *Scots*; but we who knew the *Scots* beſt, knew that there was *one Thing* would do with them, if the other would not, and that was Money; and therefore our Hearts aked for the King.

The *Scots*, as I ſaid, had retreated to *Newcaſtle* with the King, and there they quartered

their whole Army at large upon the Country; the Parliament voted they had no farther Occaſion for the *Scots*, and deſired them to go home about their Buſineſs. I do not ſay it was in theſe Words, but in whatſoever good Words their Meſſages might be expreſſed, this and nothing leſs was the *Engliſh* of it. The *Scots* reply, by ſetting forth ther Loſſes Damages, and Dues, the Subſtance of which was, *Pay us our Money, and we will be gone, or elſe we won't ſtir.* The Parliament call for an Account of their Demands, which the *Scots* give in, amounting to a Million; but, according to their Cuſtom, and eſpecially finding that the Army under *Fairfax* inclined gradually that Way, fall down to 500000l. and at laſt to four; but all the while this is tranſacting, a ſeparate Treaty is carried on at *London* with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, and afterwards at *Edinburgh*, by which it is given them to underſtand, that whereas upon Payment of the Money, the *Scots* Army is to march out of *England*, and to give up all the Towns and Garriſons which they hold in this Kingdom, ſo they are to take it for granted, that 'tis the meaning of the Treaty, that they ſhall leave the King in the Hands of the *Engliſh* Parliament.

To make this go down the better, the *Scotch* Parliament, upon his Majeſty's Deſire to go with their Army into *Scotland*, ſend him for Anſwer, that it cannot be for the Safety of his Majeſty or of the State, to come into *Scotland*, not having taken the Covenant, and this was carried in their Parliament but by two Voices.

The *Scots* having refuſed his coming into *Scotland*, as was concerted between the two Houſes, and their Army being to march out of *England*, the delivering up the King became a Con-

a Conſequence of the Thing unavoidable, and of Neceſſity.

His Majeſty thus deſerted of thoſe into whoſe Hands he had thrown himſelf, took his Leave of the *Scots* General at *Newcaſtle*, telling him only, in few Words, this ſad Truth, *That he was Bought and Sold.* The Parliament Commiſſioners received him at *Newcaſtle* from the *Scots*, and brought him to *Holmby* Houſe, in *Northamtonſhire*; from whence, upon the Quarrels and Feuds of Parties, he was fetched by a Party of Horſe, commanded by one Cornet *Joyce*, from the Army, upon their mutinous Rendezvous at *Triplow-Heath*; and, after this, ſuffering many Violences, and Varieties of Circumſtances among the Army, was carried to *Hampton-Court*, from whence his Majeſty very readily made his Eſcape; but not having Notice enough to provide effectual Means for his more effectual Deliverance was obliged to deliver himſelf to Collonel *Hammond* in the Iſle of *Wight*. Here, after ſome very indifferent Uſage, the Parliament purſued a farther Treaty with him, and all Points were agreed but two. The entire Aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, which the King declared to be againſt his Conſcience, and his Coronation Oath; and the Sale of the Church-Lands, which he declared, being moſt of them Gifts to God and the Church, by Perſons deceaſed, his Majeſty thought could not be alienated without the higheſt Sacrilege, and if taken from the Uſes to which they were appointed by the Wills of the Donors, ought to be reſtored back to the Heirs and Families of the Perſons who bequeathed them.

And theſe two Articles ſo ſtuck with his Majeſty, that he ventured his Fortune and

Royal Family, and his own Life for them: However, at laſt, the King condeſcended ſo far in theſe, that the Parliament voted his Majeſty's Conceſſions to be ſufficient to ſettle and eſtabliſh the Peace of the Nation.

This Vote diſcovered the bottom of all the Counſels which then prevailed; for the Army, who knew if Peace were once ſettled, they ſhould be undone, took the Alarm at this, and clubbing together in Committees and Councils, at laſt brought themſelves to a Degree of Hardneſs above all that ever this Nation ſaw; for, calling into Queſtion the Proceedings of their Maſters who employed them, they immediately fall to Work upon the Parliament, remove Collonel *Hammond*, who had the Charge of the King, and uſed him honourably, place a new Guard upon him, diſmiſs the Commiſſioners, and put a Stop to the Treaty; and, following their Blow, march to *London*, place Regiments of Foot at the Parliament Houſe Door, and, as the Members came up, ſieze upon all thoſe whom they had down in a Liſt as Promoters of the Settlement and Treaty, and would not ſuffer them to ſit; but the reſt, who being of their own Stamp, are permitted to go on, carry on the Deſigns of the Army, revive their Votes of Non-Addreſſes to the King, and then, upon the Army's Petition, to bring all Delinquents to Juſtice; the Maſque was thrown off, the Word all is declared to be meant the King, as well as every Man elſe they pleaſed. 'Tis too ſad a Story, and too much a Matter of Grief to me, and to all good Men, to renew the Blackneſs of thoſe Days, when Law and Juſtice was under the Feet of Power; the Army ruled the Parliament, the private Officers their Generals,

the

the common Soldiers their Officers, and Confuſion was in every Part of the Government: In this Hurry they ſacrificed their King, and ſhed the Blood of the *Engliſh* Nobility without Mercy.

The Hiſtory of the Times will ſupply the Paticulars which I omit, being willing to confine my ſelf to my own Accounts and Obſervations; I was now no more an Actor, but a melancholly Obſervator of the Misfortunes of the Times. I had given my Parole not to take up Arms againſt the Parliament, and I ſaw nothing to invite me to engage on their Side; I ſaw a World of Confuſion in all their Counſels, and I always expected that in a Chain of Diſtractions, as it generally fals out, the laſt Link would be Deſtruction; and though I pretended to no Prophecy, yet the Progreſs of Affairs have brought it to paſs, and I have ſeen Providence, who ſuffered, for the Correction of this Nation, the Sword to govern and devour us, has at laſt brought Deſtruction *by the Sword*, upon the Head of moſt of the Party who firſt drew it.

If together with the brief Account of what Concern I had in the Active Part of the War, I leave behind me ſome of my own Remarks and Obſervations, it may be pertinent enough to my Deſign, and not unuſeful to Poſterity.

1. I obſerved by the Sequel of Things, that it may be ſome Excuſe to the firſt Parliament, who began this War, to ſay that they manifeſted their Deſigns were not aimed at the Monarchy, nor their Quarrel at the Perſon of the King; becauſe, when they had him in their Power, though againſt his Will, they would have reſtored both his Perſon and Dignity as a King, only loading it with ſuch Clogs of the People's

Power as they at firſt pretended to, *(viz.)* the Militia, and Power of naming the great Officers at Court, and the like; which Powers, it was never denied, had been ſtretched too far in the Beginning of this King's Reign, and ſeveral things done illegally, which his Majeſty had been ſenſible of, and was willing to rectify; but they having obtained the Power by Victory, reſolved ſo to ſecure themſelves, as that whenever they laid down their Arms, the King ſhould not be able to do the like again: And thus far they were not to be ſo much blamed, and we did not, on our own Part, blame them, when they had obtained the Power, for parting with it on good Terms.

But when I have thus far advocated for the Enemies, I muſt be very free to ſtate the Crimes of this Bloody War, by the Events of it. 'Tis manifeſt there were among them, from the Beginning, a Party who aimed at the very Root of the Government, and at the very thing which they brought to paſs, *viz.* The depoſing and murthering of their Sovereign; and, as the Devil is always Maſter where Miſchief is the Work, this Party prevailed, turned the other out of Doors, and over-turned all that little Honeſty that might be in the firſt Beginning of this unhappy Strife.

The Conſequence of this was, the Presbyterians ſaw their Error when it was too late, and then would gladly have joined the Royal Party, to have ſuppreſſed this new Leaven, which had infected the Lump; and this is very remarkable, that moſt of the firſt Champions of this War, who bore the Brunt of it, when the King was powerful and proſperous, and when there was nothing to be got by it but

Blows,

Blows, firſt or laſt, were ſo ill uſed by this Independant powerful Party, who tripped up the Heels of all their Honeſty, that they were either forced, by ill Treatment, to take up Arms on our Side, or ſuppreſſed and reduced by them. In this the Juſtice of Providence ſeemed very conſpicuous, that theſe having puſhed all things by Violence againſt the King, and by Arms and Force brought him to their Will, were at once both robbed of the End, their Church-Government, and puniſhed for drawing their Swords againſt *their Maſters*, by *their own Servants* drawing the Sword againſt them; and God, in his due Time, puniſhed the others too: And, what was yet farther ſtrange, the Puniſhment of this Crime of making War againſt their King, ſingled out thoſe very Men, both in the Army and in the Parliament, who were the greateſt Champions of the Presbyterian Cauſe in the Council, and in the Field. Some Minutes too of Circumſtances I cannot forbear obſering, though they are not very material, as to the Fatality and Revolutions of Days and Times.

A *Roman* Catholick Gentleman of *Lancaſhire*, a very religious Man in his way, who had kept a Calculate of Times, and had obſerved mightily the Fatality of Times, Places and Actions, being at my Father's Houſe, was diſcourſing once upon the juſt Judgment of God in dating his Providences, ſo as to ſignify to us his Diſpleaſure at particular Circumſtances; and, among an infinite Number of Collections he had made, theſe were ſome which I took particular Notice of, and from whence I began to obſerve the like.

1. That

1. That King *Edward* the VIth died the very ſame Day of the ſame Month in which he cauſed the Altar to be taken down, and the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s.

2. That *Cranmer* was burnt at *Oxford* the ſame Day and Month that he gave King *Henry* the VIIIth Advice to Divorce his Queen *Catherine*.

3. That Queen *Elizabeth* died the ſame Day and Month that ſhe reſolved, in her Privy Council, to behead the Queen of *Scots*.

4. That King *James* died the ſame Day that he publiſhed his Book againſt *Bellarmine*.

5. That King *Charles*'s long Parliament, which ruined him, began the very ſame Day and Month which that Parliament began, that at the Requeſt of his Predeceſſor robbed the *Roman* Church of all her Revenues, and ſuppreſſed Abbies and Monaſteries.

How juſt his Calculations were, or how true the Matter of Fact, I cannot tell, but it put me upon the ſame in ſeveral Actions and Succeſſes of this War.

And I found a great many Circumſtances, as to Time and Action, which befel both his Majeſty and his Parties firſt.

Then others which befel the Parliament and Presbyterian Faction which raiſed the War.

Then the Independant Tyranny which ſucceeded and ſupplanted the firſt Party.

Then the *Scots*, who acted on both Sides.

Laſtly, The Reſtoration and Re-eſtabliſhment of the Loyalty and Religion of our Anceſtors.

1. For King *Charles* the Firſt; 'tis obſervable that the Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, a thing

thing which his Majeſty blamed himſelf for all the Days of his Life, and at the Moment of his laſt Suffering, was firſt read in the Lords Houſe on the 30th of *January*, the ſame Day of the Month ſix Year that the King himſelf was brought to the Block.

2. That the King was carried away Priſoner from *Newark*, by the *Scots*, *May* 10, the ſame Day ſix Year that, againſt his Conſcience and Promiſe, he paſſed the Bill of Attainder againſt the loyal noble Earl of *Strafford*.

3. The ſame Day ſeven Year that the King entered the Houſe of Commons for the five Members, which all his Friends blamed him for, the ſame Day the Rump voted bringing his Majeſty to Tryal, after they had ſet by the Lords for not agreeing to it, which was the 3d of *January* 1648.

4. The 12th of *May* 1646, being the Surrender of *Newark*, the Parliament held a Day of Thankſgiving and Rejoicing, for the Reduction of the King and his Party, and finiſhing the War, which was the ſame Day five Year that the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded.

5. The Battle at *Naſeby*, which ruin'd the King's Affairs, and where his Secretary and his Office was taken, was the 14th of *June* the ſame Day and Month the firſt Commiſſion was given out by his Majeſty to raiſe Forces.

6. The Queen voted a Traytor by the Parliament the 3d of *May*, the ſame Day and Month ſhe carried the Jewels into *France*.

7. The ſame Day the King defeated *Eſſex* in the Weſt, his Son King *Charles* II. was defeated at *Worceſter*.

8. Arch-biſhop *Laud*'s Houſe at *Lambeth* aſſaulted by the Mob, the ſame Day of the ſame Month that he

he adviſed the King to make War upon the *Scots*.

9. Impeached the 15th of *December* 1640, the ſame Day Twelve-month that he ordered the Common-Prayer-Book of *Scotland* to be printed, in order to be impoſed upon the *Scots*, from which all our Troubles began.

But many more, and more ſtrange, are the critical Junctures of Affairs in the Caſe of the Enemy, or at leaſt more obſerved by me.

1. Sir *John Hotham*, who repulſed his Majeſty and refuſed him Admittance into *Hull* before the War, was ſiezed at *Hull* by the ſame Parliament for whom he had done it, the ſame 10th Day of *Auguſt* two Years that he drew the firſt Blood in that War.

2. *Hambden* of *Buckinghamſhire* killed the ſame Day one Year that the Mob Petition from *Bucks* was preſented to the King about him, as one of the five Members.

3. Young Captain *Hotham* executed the 1ſt of *January*, the ſame Day that he aſſiſted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in the firſt Skirmiſh with the King's Forces at *Bramham-Moor*.

4. The ſame Day and Month, being the 6th of *Auguſt* 1641, that the Parliament voted to to raiſe an Army againſt the King, the ſame Day and Month, *Anno* 1648, the Parliament were aſſaulted and turned out of Doors by that very Army, and none left to ſit but who the Soldiers pleaſed, which were therefore called the *Rump*.

5. The Earl of *Holland* deſerted the King, who had made him General of the Horſe, and went over to the Parliament, and the 9th of *March* 1641,

1641, carried the Commons reproaching Declaration to the King; and afterwards taking up Arms for the King againſt the Parliament, was beheaded by them the 9th of *March* 1648, juſt ſeven Years after.

6. The Earl of *Holland* was ſent to by the King to come to his Aſſiſtance and refuſed, the 11th of *July* 1641, and that very Day ſeven Years after was taken by the Parliament at *St. Needs*.

7. Collonel *Maſſey* defended *Glouceſter* againſt the King, and beat him off the 5th of *September* 1643, was after taken by *Cromwell*'s Men fighting for the King, on the 5th of *September* 1651, two or three Days after the Fight at *Worceſter*.

8. *Richard Cromwell* reſigning becauſe he could not help it, the Parliament voted a free Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords; this was the 25th of *May* 1658; the 25th of *May* 1660 the King landed at *Dover*, and reſtored the Government of a ſingle Perſon and Houſe of Lords.

9. *Lambert* was proclaimed a Traytor by the Parliament, *April* the 20th, being the ſame Day he propoſed to *Oliver Cromwell* to take upon him the Title of King.

10. *Monk* being taken Priſoner at *Nantwich* by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, revolted to the Parliament, the ſame Day nineteen Years he declared for the King, and thereby reſtored the Royal Authority.

11. The Parliament voted to approve of Sir *John Hotham*'s repulſing the King at *Hull*, the 28th of *April* 1642; the 28th of *April* 1660, the Parliament firſt debated in the Houſe the reſtoring the King to the Crown.

12. The

12. The Agitators of the Army formed themſelves into a Cabal, and held their firſt Meeting to ſieze on the King's Perſon, and take him into their Cuſtody from *Holmby*, the 28th of *April* 1647; the ſame Day 1660, the Parliament voted the Agitators to be taken into Cuſtody, and committed as many of them as could be found.

13. The Parliament voted the Queen a Traytor for aſſiſting her Husband the King, *May* the 3d 1643, her Son King *Charles* II. was preſented with the Votes of Parliament to reſtore him, and the Preſent of 50000l. the 3d of *May* 1660.

14. The ſame Day the Parliament paſſed the Act for Recognition of *Oliver Cromwell*, *October* the 13th 1654. *Lambert* broke the Parliament and ſet up the Army 1659, *October* the 13th.

Some other Obſervations I have made, which as not ſo pertinent I forbear to publiſh, among which I have noted the Fatality of ſome Days to Parties, as,

The 2d of *September*, the Fight at *Dunbar*; the Fight at *Worceſter*; the Oath againſt a ſingle Perſon paſt; *Oliver*'s firſt Parliament called: For the Enemy.

The 2d of *September*, *Eſſex* defeated in *Cornwall*; *Oliver* died; City Works demoliſhed: For the King.

The 29th of *May*, Prince *Charles* born; *Leiceſter* taken by Storm; King *Charles* II. reſtored: Ditto.

Fatality of Circumſtances in this unhappy War, as,

1. The

1. The *Engliſh* Parliament call in the *Scots*, to invade their King, and are invaded themſelves by the ſame *Scots*, in Defence of the King whoſe Caſe, and the Deſign of the Parliament the *Scots* had miſtaken.

2. The *Scots*, who unjuſtly aſſiſted the Parliament to conquer their lawful Sovereign, contrary to their Oath of Allegiance, and without any Pretence on the King's Part, are afterwards abſolutely conquered and ſubdued by the ſame Parliament they aſſiſted.

3. The Parliament, who raiſed an Army to depoſe their King, depoſed by the very Army they had raiſed.

4. The Army broke three Parliaments, and are at laſt broke by a free Parliament and all they had done by the Military Power, undone at once by the Civil.

5. Abundance of the Chief Men, who by their fiery Spirits involved the Nation in a Civil War, and took up Arms againſt their Prince, firſt or laſt met with Ruine or Diſgrace from their own Party.

1. Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, who ſtruck the firſt Stroke, both beheaded or hanged by the Parliament.

2. Major General *Maſſey* three times taken Priſoner by them, and once wounded at *Worceſter*.

3. Major General *Langhorn*. 4. Collonel *Poyer*: And, 5. Collonel *Powell*, changed Sides, and at laſt taken, could obtain no other Favour than to draw Lots for their Lives; Collonel *Poyer* drew the Dead Lot, and was ſhot to Death.

6. Earl of *Holland*, who, when the Houſe voted who ſhould be reprieved, Lord *Goring*, who had

had been their worſt Enemy, or the Earl of *Holland*, who, excepting one Offence, had been their conſtant Servant, voted *Goring* to be ſpared, and the Earl to die.

7. The Earl of *Eſſex*, their firſt General.
8. Sir *William Waller*.
9. Lieutenant General *Ludlow*.
10. The Earl of *Mancheſter*.

All diſguſted and voted out of the Army, though they had ſtood the firſt Shock of the War, to make way for the new Model of the Army, and introduce a Party.

In all theſe Confuſions I have obſerved two great Errors, one of the King, and one of his Friends.

Of the King, that when he was in their Cuſtody, and at their Mercy, he did not comply with their Propoſitions of Peace before their Army, for want of Employment, fell into Heats and Mutinies; that he did not at firſt grant the *Scots* their own Conditions, which, if he had done, he had gone into *Scotland*; and then, if the *Engliſh* would have fought the *Scots* for him, he had a Reſerve of his loyal Friends, who would have had Room to have fallen in with the *Scots* to his Aſſiſtance, who were after diſperſed and deſtroyed in ſmall Parties attempting to ſerve him.

While his Majeſty remained at *Newcaſtle*, the Queen wrote to him, perſwading him to make Peace upon any Terms; and in Politicks her Majeſty's Advice was certainly the beſt: For, however low he was brought by a Peace, it muſt have been better than the Condition he was then in.

The

The Error I mention of the King's Friends was this, that after they ſaw all was loſt, they could not be content to ſit ſtill, and reſerve themſelves for better Fortunes, and wait the happy Time when the Diviſions of the Enemy would bring them to certain Ruin; but muſt haſten their own Miſeries by frequent fruitleſs Riſings, in the Face of a victorious Enemy, in ſmall Parties, and I always found theſe Effects from it.

1. The Enemy, who were always together by the Ears, when they were let alone, were united and reconciled when we gave them any Interruption; as particularly, in the Caſe of the firſt Aſſault the Army made upon them, when Collonel *Pride*, with his Regiment garbled the Houſe, as they called it, at that Time, a fair Opportunity offered; but it was omitted till it was too late: That Inſult upon the Houſe had been attempted the Year before, but was hindered by the little Inſurrections of the Royal Party, and the ſooner they had fallen out, the better.

2. Theſe Riſings being deſperate, with vaſt Diſadvantages, and always ſuppreſſed, ruined all our Friends; the Remnants of the Cavaliers were leſſened, the ſtouteſt and moſt daring were cut off, and the King's Intereſt exceedingly weakened, there not being leſs than Thirty Thouſand of his beſt Friends cut off in the ſeveral Attempts made at *Maidſtone*, *Colcheſter*, *Lancaſhire*, *Pembrook*, *Pontfract*, *Kingſton*, *Preſton*, *Warrington*, *Worceſter*, and other Places. Had theſe Men all reſerved their Fortunes to a Conjunction with the *Scots*, at either of the Invaſions they made into this Kingdom, and acted with the Conduct and Courage they were known

Maſters of, perhaps neither of thoſe *Scots* Armies had been defeated.

But the Impatience of our Friends ruin'd all; for my Part, I had as good a Mind to put my Hand to the Ruine of the Enemy as any of them, but I never ſaw any tolerable Appearance of a Force able to match the Enemy, and I had no Mind to be beaten, and then hanged. Had we let them alone, they would have fallen into ſo many Parties and Factions, and ſo effectually have torn one another to Pieces, that which ſoever Party had come to us, we ſhould, with them, have been too hard for all the reſt.

This was plain by the Courſe of Things afterwards, when the Independant Army had ruffled the Presbyterian Parliament, the Soldiery of that Party made no Scruple to join us, and would have reſtored the King with all their Hearts, and many of them did join us at laſt.

And the Conſequence, though late, ended ſo; for they fell out ſo many times, *Army* and *Parliament*, *Parliament* and *Army*, and alternately pulled one another down ſo often, till at laſt the Presbyterians, who began the War, ended it; and, to be rid of their Enemies, rather than for any Love to the Monarchy, reſtored King *Charles* the Second, and brought him in on the very Day that they themſelves had formerly reſolved the Ruine of his Father's Government, being the 29th of *May*, the ſame Day 20 Year that the private Cabal in *London* concluded their Secret League with the *Scots*, to embroil his Father King *Charles* the Firſt.

FINIS.

B L